Mars Puer, Auctia Virgo, VULPES, Leo, Nullus.

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THE COURT AND CHARACTER OF King James.

Written and taken by Sir *A: W being an eye, and eare witneſſe.*

Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare

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The Publisher to the Reader.

AMongst the many remarkable passages in this short relation, the Reader may take notice chiefly of five things here discovered.

First, how Almighty God was mockt, and the world abused, by the Tuesday Sermons at Court, and the Anniversary feastivals upon the fifth of August, *in commemoration of King* James *deliverance from the* Gowries *Conspiracy; whereas indeed*

there was no such matter, but a meere feigned thing, as appears by the story.

Secondly, how this Kingdome was gulled in the supposed treason of Sir WValterRawley *and others, who suffered as Traytors; whereas, to this day, it could never be knowne that ever there was any such treason; but a meer trick of State to remove some blockes out of the way.*

Thirdly, the fearfull imprecation made by King James *against himselfe and his Posterity, in the presence of many of his Ser-*

Servants, and the Judges, even upon his knees, if he should spare any that were found guilty in the poysoning busineſſe of Sir Tho. Overbury; *but how he failed, this ſtory will tell you; and how the Juſtice of God hath been, and is upon himſelfe and Poſterity, his owne death, by poyſon, and the ſufferings of his Poſterity, doe ſufficiently manifeſt.*

Fourthly, the untimely death of that hopefull Prince Henry *is here partly diſcovered; if the Reader cannot in this Diſ-*

course spell by what hand hee was taken away, yet may he observe a strange connivence at, and contentednesse with the thing done.

Fifthly, here we may see what a Slave King James *was to his Favourites; this appeares by many passages of this story, but specially, by his pasion at* Greenwich, *when the Lieutenant of the Tower told him of* Somersets *threatning speeches, and by his Agony, till he heard that* Somerset *tooke his Arraignement patiently, and had told no tales.* The

The Summa totalis *of all that I commend from this Discourse to the Reader, is, that he would give glory to God, in acknowledging his Justice, in the ruining of that Family, by which the eyes of his glory have been so much provoked; the foundation whereof was laid in the Fathers Reigne, and finished in the Sons; and hereby we may clearly see the truth of Gods Word, when he said;* They that honour me I will honour them, but they that despise me shall be lightly esteemed. *Lastly,*

Lastly, I take the boldnesse to advise all that are faithfull in the Land to take heed how they side with this bloody House, lest they be found opposers of Gods purpose, which doubtlesse is, to lay aside that Family, and to make it an example to posterity; according to the severall imprecations both of King James, *and King* Charles.

The

THE Court of King *James*:

OR,

A generall Discourse of some secret passages in State, since the death of that ever glorious Queene *Elizabeth*, untill this present.

By the Authors owne observation, who was either an eye, or eare witnesse, or from such as were actors in them, from their owne Relation.

UPon the Twenty fourth of *March* 1602. did set the most glorious Sun that ever shined in our Firmament of *England*, (the never Q.E. death

never to bee forgotten Qu. *Elizabeth*, of hapy memory) about three in the morning, at her Mannor of *Richmond*, not only to the unfpeakable grief of her Servants in particular, but of all her Subjects in generall.

And although many of Her Courtiers adored that rifing Sun, appearing in the North, yet fince (not without regret) of their monftrous ingratitude to that Sun now fet, and in peace.

No fooner was that Sunne fet, but Sir *Robert Carew*, (Her neer Kinfman, and whofe Family, and himfelfe, fhee had raifed from the degree of a mean Gentleman, to high Honour, in title and place) moft ingratefully did catch at Her laft breath, to carry it to the rifing Sunne then in *Scotland*, notwithftanding a ftrict Charge laid to keep faft all the Gates, yet (his Father being Lord Chamberlaine,

Honours, and Offices as he was capable of, and that inabled him to live in a noble way, during his life, and to leave his Daughters great Fortunes; but had you seen how the Lords did vye courtesies to this poor Gentleman, striving who should ingrosse that Commodity by the largest bounty; you could not but have condemned them of much baseneſſe (especially, seeing when at this time Offices, and great places of Honor wil not be accepted from that Sonne, the Barber of whose Father was so much courted,) but to speake a good word in their behalfes; surely the times are much altered.

And now all preparation was made to meet the King in *York*, that he might in that Northerne Metropolis appear like a King of *England*, and take that State on him there, which was not known in

Sir *George Hewme* a kind of Favourite.

land; There met him al the Lords of the Councel, and there did they all make Court to the Scotchmen that were moſt in favour with the King, and there did the Scotch Courtiers lay the firſt foundation of their Engliſh Fortunes; the chiefe of them was Sir *George Hewme*, a kinde of Favourite, but not ſuch as after appeared with young Faces and ſmooth Chins, but one that for his wiſdome and gravity, had been in ſome ſecret Councels with his Maſter, which created that dearneſſe betweene them; and the chiefe of thoſe ſecrets, was that of *Gowries* Conſpiracy, though that Nation gave little credit to the Story, but would ſpeak both ſleightly and deſpitefully of it, and thoſe of the wiſeſt of that Nation; yet there was a weekly commemoration by the Tueſday Sermon, and an anniverſary Feaſt, as great as it was poſſible

laine, hee by that means found favour to get out, to carry the first news; which although it obtained for him the Governourship of the Duke of *York*, yet hath set so wide a mark of ingratitude on him that it will remain to posterity a greater blot, then the honour hee obtained afterward, wil ever wipe out.

About nine in the morning of that day, was proclaimed King *James* of blessed memory, by the name of *James* the first; and now nothing on all hands, but preparations for accommodating him in his journey for *England*, many posting into *Scotland* for preferment, either by indearing themselves by some merit of their owne to the King, or by purchasing friends with their purses, (Gold and Silver being a precious commodity in that Climate, and would procure any thing)

K. *James* Proclaimed King.

and did procure Suits, Honours, and Offices to any that first came; of all which the King afterward extended his bounty in so large and ample a manner, as procured his owne impoverishment, to the pressure of his Subjects, so far as set some distance between him and them, which his wisdome, and King-craft, could easily at all times reconcile.

The first that came from the King to the Lords in *England*, to give order for all things necessary for the expediting his journey toward *England*, was Sir *Roger Aston* an *Englishman* born, but had his breeding wholly in *Scotland* and had served the King many yeares as his Barber, an honest and free-hearted man, and of an ancient Family in *Cheshire*, but of no breeding answerable to his birth; yet he was the only man ever imployed, as a Messenger from

Sir *Roger Aston* K. *James* his Barbar.

from the King to Q. *Elizabeth*, as a Letter carryer only, which expreſſed their owne intentions without any helpe from him (beſides the delivery) but even in that capacity was in very good eſteeme with her Majeſty, and received very royall rewards, which did inrich him, and gave him a better Revenue then moſt Gentlemen in *Scotland*; for the Queen did find him as faithfull to her as to his Maſter, in which he ſhewed much wiſdome, though of no breeding. In this his imployment I muſt not paſſe over one pretty paſſage, I have heard himſelfe relate; That he did never come to deliver any Letters from his Maſter, but ever he was placed in the Lobby; the Hangings being turned him, where he might ſee the Queene dancing to a little Fiddle, which was to no other end, then that hee ſhould tell his

Maſter by her youthfull diſpoſition, how likely he was to come to the poſſeſſion of the Crowne he ſo much thirſted after; for you muſt underſtand, the wiſeſt in that Kingdome did beleeve the King ſhould never injoy this Crowne, as long as there was an old Wife in *England*, which they did beleeve we ever ſet up, as the other was dead.

Sir *Roger Aſton* preſenting himſelfe before the Councell; being but a plain untutored man, being asked how he did, and courted by all the Lords, lighted upon this happy reply; Even my Lords, like a poore man, wandring above forty yeares in a Wilderneſſe, and barren Soyle, am now arrived at the Land of Promiſe. This man was afterward made Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, Maſter of the Wardrobe, and inveſted with ſuch

Aftermade gentleman of the Bed-chamber, &c.

Ho-

under the Hatches, as not ever to appear above board againe (nor did any of the Counter-faction to *Eſſex*, beſides himſelfe, ever attaine to the Kings favour;) but thoſe friends raiſed by his wit, and purſe, did ſo co-operate (of which Sir *Roger Aſton*, that plain man was principall, for which he loſt not his labour) that Sir *George Hewme*, and Sir *Robert Cicill* had many ſecret meetings, and did ſo comply, that Sir *Robert Cicill*, to the admiration of all, did appeare, and come out of his Chamber like a Giant, to run his race, for Honour and Fortune; and who in ſuch dearneſſe, and privacy with the King as Sir *Robert Cicill*: as if he had been his faithfulServant many yeares before; yet did not either his Friends, wit, or wealth, raiſe him ſo much (as ſome beleeve) as the ill offices done by him to this Nation, in diſcover-

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ing the nature of the people, and ſhewing the King the way, how to enhance his Prerogative ſo above the Laws, that hee might inſlave the Nation, which though it took well then, yet it hath been of ſad and dangerous conſequence in after times:

For firſt, Hee cauſed a whole Cart-load of Parliament Preſidents, that ſpake the Subjects liberty, to bee burnt:

Next, raiſing two hundred thouſand pound for making two hundred Baronets, telling the King he ſhould finde his Engliſh Subjects like Aſſes, on whom he might lay any burthen, and ſhould need neither Bit nor Bridle, but their Aſſes ears; And when the King ſaid, It would diſcontent the generality of the Gentry: He replyed, Tuſh Sir, you want the mony, that will do you good, the honour will doe them very little; And by theſe courſes

courſes hee raiſed himſelf, friends, and family, to Offices, Honours, and great Poſſeſſions; Yet as a puniſhment, he lived long enough to have loſt all, had not Death prevented him between the *Bath* and *London*: For the Duke of *Bullion* being here, about the overture of that unfortunate Match betweene the Palſgrave, and the Lady *Elizabeth*, had ſo done his errand, and diſcovered his juggling; It is moſt certaine, hee had beene ſtript of all at his returne, which hee well underſtanding from his Friends at Court, did expedite his end; but hee dyed opportunely to ſave his honour, and his eſtate for his Poſterity, though to leave a marke of ignominy on himſelfe by that *Herodian* diſeaſe, that for all his great Honours, and Poſſeſſions, and ſtately Houſes, Hee found no place but the top of a Mole-hill, neare *Marleborough* to

end

end his miſerable life; ſo that it may be ſaid of him, and truly, he dyed of a moſt loathſome diſeaſe, without houſe, without pitty, without the favour of that Maſter that had raiſed him to ſo high an eſtate; and yet muſt he have that right done him (which is alſo a note of the misfortune of our times) there hath not been any ſince his time that equalled him, to fulfill the Proverbe, *Seldome comes a better*; he had great parts, was very wiſe, full of honour, and bounty, a great lover and rewarder of Vertue, and able parts in others, ſo they did not aſpire too high in places, or looke too narrowly into his actions.

The next that came on the publick Theatre in favour, was *Henry Howard*, a younger Sonne of the Duke of *Norfolke*, and Lord *Thomas Howard*, the one after Earle of *Northampton*, the other Earle

of

of *Suffolk*, Lord Chamberlaine; and after Lord Treaſurer, who by *Salisburies* greatneſſe with that Family, rather then by any merit, or wiſdome in themſelves, raiſed many great Familyes of his Children; *Northampton* though a great Clerke, yet not a wiſe man, but the groſſeſt Flatterer of the World; and as *Salisbury* by his Wit, ſo this by his Flattery, raiſed himſelfe; yet one great motive to the raiſing of that Name of *Howards* was, the Duke of *Norfolke*, ſuffering for the Queen of *Scots*, the Kings Mother, yet did *Suffolke* ſo farre get the ſtart of *Northampton*, that *Northampton* never after loved him but from the teeth outwards, only had ſo much diſcretion as not to fall to actuall enmity, to the over-throw of both, and the weakning their faction; *Suffolke* alſo uſing him with all ſubmiſſive reſpect, not for any

any love, but hope of gaining his great estate, and sharing it amongst his Children; but *Northampton's* distaste was such, by his losse of the Treasurers place, which he had with such assurance promised to himselfe in his thoughts, that except what he gave to Master *Henry Howard*, the rest he gave to the Earle of *Arundell*, who by his observance, but more especially by giving *Northampton* all his Estate if he never returned from travell, had wrought himselfe so far into his affections, that he doted on him.

And now the principall managers of the *English* affaires were *Salisbury*, *Suffolke*, *Northampton*, *Buckhurst*, *Egerton*, Lord Keeper, *Worcester*, and the Old Admirall; For the *Scots*, Sir *George Hewme*; now E. of *Dunbar*, Secretary *Elfeston*, after E. of *Balmerino*, and as wise a man as was in *England*, or

Scot-

possible, for the Kings preservation, ever on the fifth of *August*; upon which day as Sir *John Ramsey* after E. of *Holdernes*, for his good service in that preservation, was the principal guest, so did the King grant him any Boone hee would ask that day; but had such limitations set to his asking, as made his suit as unprofitable unto him, as that he asked it for, was unserviceable to the King, and indeed did make the *English* beleeve as little the truth of that story, as the *Scots* themselves did, and yet on my conscience the good Gentleman did in that as a Lyer often doth, by telling a Lye often, beleeveth it to be a very truth; but the truth was, (although he was not a man capable of much himselfe) yet had it been true, there was too little done for him, being not true, too much; for being an Earle, hee was in very little esteem,

esteeme, either with his Master, or with the better sort of Courtiers. And I pray God that the effects of those Sermons in the Fathers time for that service, cause no ill effects, or be not one cause of Gods anger towards us in the Sons reign.

This Sir *George Hewme* being the only man that was the Guider of the King, and his affaires, all the wiser sort of *English* made their addresses unto him, amongst those Sir *Robert Cicill*, a very wise man, but much hated in *England*, by reason of the fresh bleeding of that universally beloved Earle of *Essex*, and for that was clouded also in the Kings favour; he came to *Yorke*, but lay close, unseen, or scrace known to be in the City, untill hee knew what entertainment hee should receive from the King; for he was in his owne, and all mens opinions, so under

Sir Robert Cicill a favourite.

Scotland, the Lord of *Kinloſſe*, a very honeſt, but weak man.

You are now to obſerve, that *Salisbury* had ſhaken off all that were great with him, and of his Faction in Queen *Elizabeths* dayes, as Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *George Carew*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Cobham*: the three firſt, very able men as the World had, the laſt, but one degree from a foole, yet ſerved their turnes better then a wiſer man, by his greatneſſe with the Queen, for they would put him on any thing, and make him tell any Lye, with as great confidence as a truth. Three of theſe were utterly ruined, as you ſhall heare in the following Diſcourſe, the fourth being a very wiſe man, contented himſelfe with a meane place, that was worthy of a much greater; and although very active formerly, called to minde this ſaying: *Fælix*

quem faciunt, &c. and medled with no State buſineſſe, his wiſdome fore-telling his Fate, if he had done otherwiſe; for he did ſee one better head-peece then his owne, ſit tottering at that time, and fell off afterwards, which made him think it was good ſleeping in a whole skin.

Mr. *Iames Hay* a Favourite.

The King no ſooner came to *London*, but notice was taken of a riſing Favourite, the firſt Meteor of that nature appearing in our climate; as the King caſt his eye upon him for affection, ſo did all the Courtiers, to adore him, his name was Mr. *James Hay*, a Gentleman that lived long in *France*, and ſome ſay, of the *Scottiſh* Guard to that King; this Gentleman comming over to meet the King, and ſhare with him in his new Conqueſt (according to the *Scottiſh* phraſe) it ſhould ſeeme had ſome former acquaintance with the

the then Leiger Embaſſadour in *Scotland* for the *French* King, who comming with his Majeſty into *England*, preſented this Gentleman, as a wel accompliſhed Gentleman, to the King, in ſuch an highcommendation as engendred ſuch a liking as produced a favourite; in thankfull acknowledgement whereof, he did him many faire offices for the preſent, and comming afterwards an extraordinary Embaſſadour to our King, made him the moſt ſumptuous Feaſt at *Eſſex* houſe, that ever was ſeen before, never equalled ſince, in which was ſuch plenty (and Fiſh of that immenſity, brought out of *Muſcovia*, that Diſhes were made to containe them (no Diſhes in all *England* before could neare hold them) and after that a coſtly Voydee, and after that a Maske, of choyſe Noble-men, and Gentlemen, and after that a moſt

His riſe.

His ſumptuous feaſt.

costly and magnificent Banquet, the King, Lords, and all the prime Gentlemen thenabout *London* being invited thither. Truly, he was a most compleat, and well accomplished Gentleman, modest, and Court-like, and of so faire a demeanour, as made him be generally beloved; and for his wisdome, I shall give you but one character for all: He was ever great with all the Favourites of his time, and although the King did often change, yet he was (*semper idem*) with the King, and Favourites, and got by both; for although Favourites had that exorbitant power over the King, to make him grace, and disgrace whom they pleased, he was out of that power, and the only exception to that generall rule; and for his gettings, it was more then almost all the Favourites of his time, which appeared in those vast

His accomplishment.

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expences of all ſorts, and had not the bounty of his minde exceeded his gettings, he might have left the greateſt eſtate that ever our age or climate had heard of; he was indeed made for a Courtier, who wholly ſtudied his Maſter, and underſtood him better then any other.

He was imployed in very many of the moſt weighty Affaires, and ſent with the moſt ſtately Embaſſies of our times, which he performed with that wiſdome, and magnificency, that he ſeemed an honour to his King and Country. For his carriage in State-affaires; he was termed by ſome Princes the Kings Juggler, he married the Daughter and Heire of the Lord *Denny*, after the Earle of *Northumberlands* Daughter, and was hated of none that ever I heard of, but the Earle of *Northampton*, who had no patience to

ſee him, being himſelfe of ſo venemous and cankred a diſpoſition, that indeed he hated all men of noble parts, nor loved any but Flatterers, like himſelfe; yet it was a great queſtion, whether he hated the Earle of *Carliſle*, or Sir *Robert Manſell* moſt, by whom he hath been heard to ſay; *Body of God, I will be content to be damned perpetually in Hell, to be revenged of that proud Welſhman*; and did ſo hate him, that he kept an Inquiſition on him ſeven yeares, to prove that he had couzened the King of fourteen thouſand pound, which at the ſeven yeares end at an hearing before the King, the Lords, the Queen, and all the Ladies being preſent, with all the gallantry of the Court, ended in one paire of ſilke Stockins, given by one for a New-years Gift to Maſter *Wels*, Sir *Robert Manſells* Servant; at which, the King ſtood

up

up, and ſware very deeply; *Doe you beleeve I will take a paire of ſilke Stockins for my fourteen thouſand pound, give me that; is this all the fruit of ſeven yeares* Commiſſion? at which words Sir *Robert Manſell* kneeled down, and ſaid, *I will now Sir take all the faults they can charge my ſervant with, upon my ſelfe*; at which the King was very angry, that ſo noble a Gentleman, who had ſo well acquitted himſelf, and Honour, ſhould intruſt it in the keeping of a Servant; at the end of all the Earle of *Salisbury* kneeled downe, and ſaid; *Sir, if you will ſuffer malice ſo farre to prevaile, as to have your honeſt Servants traduced, to ſatisfie the humours of any, I beſeech you take my ſtaffe, for were my ſelfe, and the Earle of* Worceſter *here preſent, put in the ballance againſt* Sir Robert Manſell, *wee ſhould proove too light; I am in a great Place, and cannot ſay, but by*

my ſelf, or ſervants, I may fail, yet not with our own wils; therefore Sir, if you wil ſuffer ſuch inquiſitions, there wil be no ſerving your Majeſty, in ſuch places as I hold, by your Majeſties favour; thus ended the Earle of *Northamptons* malice, which only ſerved to honour Sir *Rob. Manſell*, and make a ſcorne of himſelfe, and this only to make the venome of this Monſter appeare, who did flatter the King, and diſſemble with God.

And now begins Embaſſadours to appeare from divers Princes, the Prime was *Roney* Duke of *Sullia*, from the *French* King; the Conſtable of *Caſtile* from the *Spaniſh* King, the Count *Arremberg* from the Arch Duke; the former came to congratulate only, and deſired the confirmation of the ancient amity betwixt the two Crownes; the latter two about the eſtabliſhing a firme Peace betwixt theſe two Kingdomes, that had

had lived in perpetuall warre, and hatred of each other, by which it might appeare where the advantage of ſuch a peace might faile; by thoſe that ſought, or rather bought it with an infinite maſſe of treaſure, prodigally caſt about the *Engliſh* Court.

To bring theſe Embaſſadours over, were appointed Sir *Robert Manſell*, being Admirall of the narrow Seas, and Sir *Jerome Turner* his Vice-Admirall; the firſt commanded to attend at *Graveling* for the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadour, the latter at *Calis* for the *French*; but the *French* comming firſt, and hearing the Vice-Admirall was to attend him, the Admirall the other; in a ſcorne put himſelf in a Paſſage-boat of *Callis*, came forth with flagge in top; inſtantly Sir *Jerome Turner* ſent to know of the Admirall what he ſhould doe; Sir *Robert Manſell* ſent him word,

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to ſhoot, and ſtrike him, if hee would not take in the flag; this as it made the flag be pulled in, ſo a great complaint, and 'twas beleeved it would have undone Sir *Robert Manſell*, the *French* Faction put it ſo home, but he maintained the act, and was the better beloved of his Maſter ever after, to his dying day.

This makes it appeare how jealous old Commanders were of their honour, the King, and Kingdomes, which ſince hath been ſo prodigally waſted, as we are utterly bankerupt, having ſpent our old Stock, and have not bravery enough to erect a new.

The Conſtable of *Caſtile* ſo plyed his Maſters buſineſſe (in which he ſpared for no coſt) that he procured a peace ſo advantagious for *Spain*, and ſo diſadvantagious for *England*, that it and all Chriſtendome have ſince both

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ſeen and felt the lamentable effect therof, there was not one Courtier of note, that taſted not of *Spains* bounty, either in Gold, or Jewels, and among them, not any in ſo large a proportion as the Counteſſe of *Suffolke*, who ſhared in her Lords intereſt, being then a potent man, and in that intereſt which ſhe had, in being Miſtris to that little great Secretary (little in body and ſtature, but great in wit and policy) the ſole manager of State affaires, ſo it may be ſaid, ſhe was a double ſharer, and in truth *Audley-end*, that famous and great ſtructure, had its foundation of *Spaniſh* Gold.

The King was a peaceable and mercifull Prince (yet God for ſome ſecret intent beſt known to himſelfe) laid the foundation of his reigne, with the greateſt mortality ever before heard of in this Kingdome, by a fearefull plague, A great Plague.

and

and ſome by that, judged what his future reigne would be, yet their wiſdomes failed, for he was a King of mercy as well as peace, never cruell, yet ſurely it had ſome morall.

He was forced by that contagion to leave the Metropolis, and goe into a by corner in *Wiltſhire*, *Wilton* the Earle of *Pembrookes* Houſe, in which time of his abode there, a kinde of Treaſon brake forth, but what it was, as no man could then tell, ſo it is left with ſo darke a Comment, that poſterity will never underſtand the Text, or remember any ſuch treaſon; it is true, ſome loſt their lives, yet the world was never ſatisfied of the juſtice, and one of them, (and that the only marke of Tyranny of this good Kings reigne) executed many yeares after without all preſident, and on my conſcience without any juſt cauſe,

and

and even againſt that good Kings will, who in many things was over-awed by his timerous diſpoſition.

But the *Spaniſh* Faction, and *Spaniſh* Gold betrayed his life, as they had done the Kingdoms before, and I beleeve it was one of the greateſt Maſter-peeces of that Embaſſadour, to purchaſe *Rawleighs* head, yet had not *Briſtol* cooperated, the King would never have conſented, and it may be he had his ſecret ends, fearing his wiſdome might once againe have raiſed him, to have looked over *Sherborne* Caſtle, once his owne, and how unjuſtly taken from him God will one day judge; I know not whether there be a curſe on thoſe that are owners of it, as Fables report, but I am confident there is a curſe on *Briſtol* for takeing away his life; I will not take upon me too farre to pry into Gods

Gods Arke, yet what is like to be fall him, and hath already, his Son (as hopefull a Gentleman as any in the Kingdome) may give some token of Gods anger against him and his family.

A narration of the Treason charged on *Rawleigh*.

But because I will not leave you altogether blinde-folded, I shall as neare as I can lead you to the discovery of this Treason, which consisted of Protestants, Puritans, Papists, and Atheists: a strange medley you will say, to meet in one and the same Treason, and keepe counsell, which surely they did, because they knew not of any; the Protestants were the Lord *Cobham*, and *George Brook* his Brother, the one very learned and wise, the other a most silly Lord, the Puritan the Lord *Grey* of *Wilton*, a very hopefull Gentleman, blasted in the very Bud; the Papists *Watson*, and *Clarke*, Priests; and *Parham* a Gentleman, the Atheist.

Atheiſt. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* then generally ſo beloved, though after brought by affliction (the beſt School-Miſtris) to be, and ſo dyed, a moſt religious Gentleman. This treaſon was compounded of moſt ſtrange ingredients, (and more ſtrange then true) it was very true, moſt of theſe were diſcontented, to ſee *Salisbury* their old friend ſo high, to trample on them, that before had been his chiefe ſupporters (and being ever of his faction) now neglected and contemned; it was then beleeved an errand trick of State to over-throw ſome, and diſable others, knowing their ſtrong abilities might otherwiſe live to over-throw *Salisbury*, for they were intimate in all his ſecret Councels for the ruine of *Eſſex*, eſpecially *Rawleigh*, *Grey*, and *Cobham*; though the latter was a foole, yet had been very uſefull to

to them (as the Toole in the hand of the Workman) to have ſingled out theſe without ſome Prieſts, which were Traytors by the Law, had ſmelt too rank, and appeared too poore and plaine a trick of State; and *Salisbury* in this had a double benefit: Firſt, in ridding himſelfe of ſuch as he feared would have been thornes in his ſides. Secondly, by endearing himſelf to the King, by ſhewing his diligence, and vigilency for his ſafety; ſo that it might be ſaid of him as of *Cæſar* in another caſe (*Inveniam aut faciam*) I wil either finde out a Treaſon or make one, and this had been a pretty trick had it been only to diſgrace, without taking away life; but how this peece of policy may ſtand with Religion, I feare by this time he too wel underſtands; and this Plot as neare as I can tell you (and I dare ſay my intelligence

gence gave me as near a gueſſe as ever any man had) was, that all theſe in a diſcontented humour had by *Watſon*, and *Clarke*, being Confeſſors, dealt with Count *Aremberge*, the Arch Dukes Embaſſadour, to negotiate with the Arch Duke to raiſe an Army, and invade *England*, and they would raiſe another of Papiſts, and Malecontents to joyne, for you muſt underſtand the King was beleeved an errand Puritan, (*Cujus contrarium verum eſt*) how likely this Plot was, let the world judge, that the King of *Spaine*, who had bought peace at ſo deare a rate, and found it ſo advantagious to him, by the lamentable experience he had formerly in the wars with this formidable State, ſhould ſeek to breake it ſo ſoone; and had it been a reall Treaſon, the State had been bound to have rewarded theſe Traytors, as the beſt

peece of ſervice done in *England* all that Kings reigne (it was indeed thoſe that made the Peace, not thoſe that endeavoured the breaking of it, were the Traytors, and are to be curſed by all Poſterity) yet this fooliſh Plot ſerved well enough to take ſome blocks out of the way, that might afterward have made ſome of them ſtumble, to the breaking of their own necks.

They were all Arraigned of Treaſon at *Wincheſter*, whether the King ſent ſome ſecretly to obſerve all paſſages, upon whoſe true and faithfull relations of the innocency of the Perſons Arraigned, and ſleight proofe upon which they were condemned, he would not be drawn to ſigne any Warrant for the execution of *Rawleigh*, *Cobham*, and *Grey*, very hardly for any of the reſt, the two Prieſts excepted.

For

For *Rawleighs* defence, it was ſo brave and juſt, as (had he not wilfully caſt himſelfe, out of very wearineſſe, as unwilling to detaine the Company longer) no Jury could ever have caſt him; all the Evidence brought againſt him was *Colhams* Accuſation, which he onely deſired might appeare (*viva voce*) and he would yeeld without further defence, but that they knew full well *Colham* would not, nor could not accuſe him, having been tampered with by *Wade*, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Salisburies* great Creature; *Wade* deſired it under his hand, that alſo he refuſed, at laſt *Wade* got a tricke by his cunning, to ſurprize *Colhams* weakeneſſe, to get him write his name to a Blank, to which *Wade*, no queſtion, wrote the accuſation, as will appeare hereafter; for *Saliſbury* urging *Rawleigh* often, if *Colham*

ham had accuſed him under his hand would he then yeeld; *Rawleigh* replyed, He knew *Cobham* weake of judgement, and did not know how that weakneſſe might be wrought upon, but was confident he would not to his face accuſe him, and therefore would not put his life, fortune and al on that; at which fence he ſtood till nine at night: at laſt his fate carried him againſt his reaſon, and he yeelded upon the producing his hand, which was inſtantly pulled out (and was in truth his hand) but not his act, or deed; ſo at that preſent was *George Brook*, *Watſon*, and *Clark* executed, *Parham* acquitted, and Sir *Wal. Rawleigh* executed many years after for the ſame treaſon, as much againſt all juſtice, as beyond all reaſon, or any preſident; yea after he had been a Generall by the Kings Commiſſion, and had by that, power of the

the Lives of many others, utterly againſt the Civill Law, which ſaith, *Hee that hath power of the Lives of others, ought to be Maſter of his own.* But the *Spaniard* was ſo powerfull at that time at Court, as that Faction could command the life of any man that might prove dangerous to their deſignes; *Grey* and *Cobham* dyed in their reſtraint, the one much pittyed, the other ſcorned, and his death as baſe, for hee dyed louſie for want of Apparrell, and Linnen; and had ſtarved, had not a Trencher-ſcraper, ſometime his Servant in Court, releived him with ſcraps, in whoſe houſe he dyed, beingſo poore a houſe as he was forced to creep up a Ladder into a little hole to his Chamber; which was a ſtrange judgement, and unpreſidented, that a man of ſeven thouſand pound *per annum*, and of a perſonall eſtate of thirty

thouſand pounds (of all which the King was cheated) of what ſhould have Eſcheated to him, that he could not give him any maintenance, as in all caſes the King doth, unleſſe out of his own Revenue of the Crowne, which was the occaſion of this Lords want, (his Wife being very rich, would not give him the crums that fell from her Table;) and this was a juſt judgement of God on him; and now, becauſe it will be pertinent in this place to let you underſtand, that *Rawleigh* had his Life ſurrepticiouſly taken away, I ſhall give you a true ſtory.

Queen *Anne*, that brave Princeſſe, was in a deſperate, and beleeved, incurable Diſeaſe, whereof the Phiſitians were at the furtheſt end of their ſtudies to finde the cauſe, at a *Non plus* for the Cure, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, being by his long ſtudies an admirable

Chymiſt

Chymiſt, undertooke, and perfor-
med the Cure, for which he would
receive no other reward, but that
her Majeſty would procure that
certaine Lords might bee ſent to
examine *Cobham*, whether he had
accuſed Sir *Walter Rawleigh* of
Treaſon at any time under his
hand; the King at the Queens re-
queſt (and in Juſtice could doe
no leſſe) ſends ſix Lords, which
I take were, the Duke of *Leonox*,
Salisbury, *Worceſter*, *Suffolke*, Sir
George Carew, and Sir *Julius Cæſar*,
to demand of *Cobham*, whether
he had not under his hand accuſed
Sir *Walter Rawleigh* at *Winchester*,
upon that Treaſon hee was Ar-
raigned for; *Cobham* did proteſt
never, nor could he; but ſaid he,
That Villaine *Wade* did often ſo-
licite me, and not prevailing, got
me by a trick to write my name
upon a peece of white Paper;
which I thinking nothing, did, ſo

that if any Charge came under my hand, it was forged by that Villaine *Wade*, by writing ſomething above my hand without my conſent or knowledge. Theſe ſix returning to the King, made *Saliſbury* their Spokeſ-man who ſaid, Sir, my Lord *Colham* hath made good all that ever he wrote, or ſaid, and this was an equivocating trick, for it was true, he made good what ever he writ, but never wrote any thing to accuſe *Rawleigh*; by which you ſee the baſeneſſe of theſe Lords, the credulity of the King, and the ruine of Sir *Walter Rawleigh*. I appeal now to the judgement of all the world, whether theſe ſix Lords were not the immediate Murtherers of ſir *W. Rawleigh* and no queſtion, ſhal be called to a ſad account for it.

And thus have you a true relation of the Treaſon, and Traytors, with all the windings & turnings

in

in it, and all paſſages appertaining to it; and by it, you may ſee the ſlavery theſe great men were inſlaved in by *Salisbury*, that none durſt teſtifie ſuch a truth, as the not teſtifying, loſt their moſt precious Soules.

And now doth the King return to *Windſor*, where there was an apparition of *Southamptons* being a Favourite to his Majeſty, by that privacy and dearneſſe preſented to the Court view, but *Salisbury* liking not that any of *Eſſex* his faction ſhould come into play, made that apparition appeare as it were in *tranſitu*, and ſo vaniſhed, by putting ſome jealouſies into the Kings head, which was ſo far from jealouſie, that he did not much deſire to be in his Queenes company, yet love and regality muſt admit of no partnerſhip.

Then was there in requitall of the *Spaniſh* Embaſſadours, two ſtately

ſtately Embaſſies addreſſed, the one to *Spaine*, the other to the Arch-Duke, to have that peace they ſo dearly purchaſed confirmed, and ſworne to by ours, as formerly by them; the old Lord Admirall was ſent to *Spaine*, the Earle of *Hartford* for *Bruxells*, that the Duke of *Leonox* might have the better opportunity. The *Spaniard* was aſtonied at the braveneſſe of our Embaſſie, and the handſome Gentlemen (in both which, few Embaſſies ever equalled this) for you muſt underſtand the Jeſuits reported our Nation to be ugly, and like Devils, as a puniſhment ſent to our Nation for caſting off the Popes ſupremacy; and they pictured Sir *Francis Drake* generally half a Man, halfe a Dragon; When they beheld them after the ſhape of Angells, they could not well tell whether to truſt their owne eyes, or their Con-

Confeſſors reports, yet they then appeared to them, as to all the world, monſtrous Lyers.

The Embaſſadour had his reception with as much ſtate, as his entertainment with bounty, the King defraying all charges, and they were detained at their Landing longer then ordinary, to have proviſions prepared in their paſſage to *Madred*, with all the bounty was poſſible, to make the whole Country appeare a Land of *Canaan*, which was in truth, but a Wilderneſſe.

In their abode there, although they gave them Roaſt meat, yet they beate them with the ſpits, by reporting that the *Engliſh* did ſteale all the Plate, when in truth it was themſelves, who thought to make Hay while the Sun ſhined, not thinking ever more to come to ſuch a Feaſt, to fill their purſes as well as their bellyes, for

food

food and coyne; are equally alike ſcarce with that nation) this report paſſed for currant, to the infinite diſhonour of our Nation, there being at that time the prime gallantry of our Nation.

Sir *Robert Manſell*, who was a man borne to vindicate the Honour of his Nation, as his owne, being Vice-Admirall, and a man on whom the old Admirall wholly relyed, having diſpatched the Ships to bee gone the next morning, came in very late to Supper; Sir *Richard Levſon* ſitting at the upper end of the Table amongſt the Grandees, the Admirall himſelfe not ſupping that night, being upon the diſpatch of Letters, the Table upon Sir *Robert Manſells* entrance offered to riſe, to give him place. But he ſat downe inſtantly at the lower end, and would not let any man ſtirre, and falling to his meat, did eſpy a *Spaniard*, as the

the Diſhes emptied, ever putting ſome in his boſome, ſome in his breeches, that they both ſtrutted Sir *Robert Manſell* ſent a Meſſage to the upper end of the table to Sir *Richard Leviſon* to be delivered in his eare, that whatſoever he ſaw him doe, he ſhould deſire the Gentlemen and Grandees to ſit quiet, for there ſhould be no cauſe of any diſquiet; on the ſudden Sir *Robert Manſell* ſteps up, takes this *Spaniard* in his armes, at which the table began to riſe; Sir *Richard Leviſon* quiets them, brings him up to the end amongſt the Grandees, then puls out the Plate from his boſome, breeches, and every part about him, which did ſo amaze the *Spaniard*, and vindicate that aſperſion caſt on our Nation that never after was there any ſuch ſillable heard, but all honour done to the Nation, and all thanks to him in particular.

From

From thence, next day they went for *Madred*, where all the royall entertainment *Spaine* could yeeld was given them, and at the end of the Grand entertainment and Revells, which held moſt part of the night, as they were all returning to their Lodgings, the ſtreet being made light by white Wax lights, and the very night forced into a day, by ſhining light, as they were paſſing in the ſtreet, a *Spaniard* catcheth off Sir *Robert Manſels* Hat, with a very rich jewel in it, and away he flyes; Sir *Robert* not being of a ſpirit to have any thing violently taken from him, nor of ſuch a Court like complement, to part with a jewel of that price, to one no better acquainted with him, hurls open the Boote, followes after the fellow, and ſome three Gentlemen did follow him, to ſecure him, houſeth the Fellow in the houſe

of

of an Alguarell, which is a great Officer, or Judge in *Spaine*; this Officer wondering at the manner of their comming, the one with his hat and ſword in his hand, the other with all their ſwords; Demands the cauſe, They tell him; Hee ſaith, ſurely none can think his Houſe a ſanctuary, who is to puniſh ſuch offenders.

But Sir *Robert Manſell* would not bee ſo put off with the *Spaniards* gravity, but enters the Houſe, leaving two at the Gate, to ſee that none ſhould come out whiles hee ſearched; A long while they could find nothing, and the Alguarel urging this as an affront, at laſt, looking downe into a Well of a ſmal depth, he ſaw the felow ſtand up to the neck in Water: Sir *Rob. Manſel* ſeized on his Hat, & jewel, leaving the fellow to the Alguarell, but hee had much rather have fingered the jewell, and in his gra-

vity

vity told Sir *Robert Manſell*, hee could not have it without forme of Law, which Sir *Robert* diſpenced with, carrying away his Hat, and Jewell, and never heard further of the buſineſſe; now the truth was, this fellow knew his Burrough well enough, as well as ſome Theeves of our Nation, after they have done a Robbery, would put themſelves into a Priſon of their acquaintance, aſſuring themſelves none would ſearch there, or rather as our Recorders of *London*, whoſe cheife revenue for themſelves, and ſervants, is from Theeves, Whores, and Bawds, therefore this ſtory cannot ſeem ſtrange in *England*.

The other Embaſſadour ſent to the Arch-Duke, was, the old Earl of *Hertford*, who was conveyed over by one of the Kings Ships, by Sir *William Munſon*, in whoſe paſſage a *Dutch* Man of Warre comming

ming by that ſhip, would not vail, as the manner is, acknowledging by that, our Soveraignty over the Sea, Sir *William* Monſon gave him a ſhot to inſtruct him manners, but inſtead of hearing, he taught him by returning another, he acknowledged no ſuch Soveraignty; this was the very firſt indignity and affront ever offered to the Royall Ships of *England*, which ſince have been moſt frequent; Sir *William* Monſon deſired my Lord of *Hertford* to goe into the Hold, and hee would inſtruct him by ſtripes, that refuſed to be taught by faire meanes; but the Earle charged him on his Allegiance firſt to land him, on whom he was appointed to attend; ſo to his great regret, he was forced to endure that indignity, for which I have often heard him wiſh hee had been hanged, rather then live that unfortunate Commander of

a Kings Ship, to be Chronicled for the first that ever endured that affront, although it was not in his power to have helped it; yet by his favour, it appeared but a copy of his countenance, for it had been but hazarding hanging to have disobeyed my Lords Commandement, and it had been infinite odds he had not been hanged, having to friend him, the House of *Suffolke*; nor would he have been so sensible of it, had he not been of the *Spanish* Faction, and that a *Dutch* ship.

Now did these great Mannagers of the State (of which *Salisbury* was chiefe) after they had packed, the Lords begin to deale the government of the Kingdome amongst themselves, and perswaded the King to leave the State affaires to them, and to betake himselfe to some Country recreations, which they found him addicted

dicted unto, for the City, and buſineſſe, did not agree with him; to that end purchaſed, built, and repaired at *New-Market*, and *Royſton*, and this pleaſed the Kings humour well, rather that he might enjoy his Favourite with more privacy, then that he loved the ſport; then muſt *Theobalds* be in his owne poſſeſſion, as not fit for a King to be beholding to a Subject for an Houſe of daily uſe, but becauſe the King had ſo much want of monies to expreſſe his love, and bounty to his Native Nation, *Salisbury* would exchange, and made ſuch an advantage, that he ſold his Houſe for fifty yeares purchaſe, and that ſo cunningly, as hardly to be diſcerned, but by a curious ſight, for he fleeted off the Creame of the Kings Mannors in many Counties, not any two lying in any one County, and made choyce of the moſt in the

remoteſt Counties, only built his neſt at *Hatfield*, within the County where his Father had built his, yet kept he ſtill his houſe of *Theobalds*, for he and his poſterity were to be perpetuall Keepers of the Houſe, and Parkes adjacent; by this he not only ſhewed his wiſdome for his owne benefit, but to the world (what the Kings naturall diſpoſition was) to be eaſily abuſed, and would take counterfeit Coyne for currant payment.

And to fit the Kings humour, and diſſolve him in that delight he was moſt addicted to, as well as to ſerve *Salisburies* owne ends, and ſatisfie his revenge upon ſome neighbour Gentlemen, that formerly would not ſell him ſome convenient parcels of Land neighbouring on *Theobalds*, he puts the King on enlarging the Parke, walling, and ſtoring it with red Deare; and I dare affirme, with that

that work he was so well pleased, and did more glory in, then his Predecessors did in the conquest of *France*; and as it was most true, so an ill Omen, that the King loved Beasts better then men, and took more delight in them, and was more tender over the life of a Stag then of a man; yet this was the weakness of his judgement, and pooreness of his Spirit, rather then any innate cruelty, for hee was not naturally cruel over lives, though in displacing Officers, which naturally he did beleeve, was as glorious, as to over-throw, and conquer Kings.

But yet for all their setting their Cards, and playing their Games to their owne advantages, of getting much for themselves, and friends, there was one Knave in the Packe, would couzen their designes, and Trump in their way, if he might not share with

them in their winning; that was one *Lake*, a Clerke of the Signet, after Secretary, and after that turned out in disgrace; and in truth, was only wise in the worlds opinion, could swim being held up by the chin; but at his fall all his weaknesses were discovered, and that the world had been deceived in him, I will instance in one particular, amongst many, that shall give you full assurance; being in disgrace, he gave two thousand pound but to kisse the Kings hand, beleeving that after that, he might have accesse as formerly; after he had paid his mony, he was never suffered to see the King more, only jeered at by all the Court for his folly, and went sneaking up and downe contemned of all men.

This *Lake* was a Fellow of meane birth, and meaner breeding, being an under Servant to make

make Fires in Secretary *Walſingham's* Chamber, and there got ſome experience, which afterwards in the Kings time made him appeare an able man, which in the Queens time, when there was none in Court but men of eminencies, made him an inconſiderable Fellow; this *Lake* had linked himſelfe in with the *Scottiſh* Nation, progging for Suits, and helping them to fill their Purſes; as they did beleeve, there was not ſo able a man in the Kingdom (for in truth ever ſince Queene *Elizabeths* death, the raiſing mony hath been the only way to raiſe men, as being held the eſſentiall property of a wiſe man, to know how to bring in money (*per fas aut nefas*) and amongſt all the *Scots*, he wholly applyed himſelfe to thoſe of the Bed-chamber, and of neareſt acceſſe to his Majeſty.

For his good ſervice of abuſing

his Country, and Country-men, he was made Clerke of the Signet, to waite on the King in his Hunting journies, and in these journies got all the Bils signed, even for the greatest Lords (all Packets being addressed to him) so that even *Salisbury*; and *Northampton*, and the greatest Lords made Court to him; by this meanes did he raise himselfe from a meane to a great fortune, but so over-awed by his Wife, that if hee did not what she commanded, she would beate him, and in truth his Wife was afterwards his over-throw; besides, he would tell Tales, and let the King know the passages of Court, and great men, as who was *Salisburies* Mistris, and governed all; who governed *Northampton*, and discovered the Bawdery, which did infinitely please the Kings humour, and in truth had so much craft, as he

he ſerved his turne upon all, but was ingroſſed by none but by the Bed-chamber, who ſtuck ſo cloſe to him, that they could not yet remove him. And now doe the *Engliſh* Faction (ſeeing they could not ſever the *Scots* from him) endeavour to raiſe a mutiny againſt the *Scots* that were his ſupporters, their Agents divulging every where, the *Scots* would get all, and would begger the Kingdom; the *Scots* on the other ſide complaine to the King, they were ſo poore, they under went the by-word of beggerly *Scots*; to which the King returned this anſwer (as he had a very ready wit) Content your ſelves, I will ſhortly make the *Engliſh* as beggerly as you, and ſo end that controverſie; this is as true as he truly performed it, for however he enriched many in particular, as *Salisbury*, *Suffolke*, *Northampton*, *Worceſter*, *Lake*, &c. yet he

he did begger himſelfe, and the Nation in generall.

This alſo was inculcated into the eares of the Parliament, when that great buſineſſe about the union was in debate, which was much croſſed by that opinion; if they had already impoveriſhed the Kingdome: by the union, they would bankerupt it. But ſince you ſee by their owne valour and bravery of ſpirit, they have made us begge a re-union with them, and for ought we ſee, all our happineſſe is derived from their favours.

They that lived at Court, and were curious obſervers of every mans actions, could have then affirmed, that *Salisbury*, *Suffolke*, and *Northampton*, and their friends did get more then the whole Nation of *Scotland*, (*Dunbar* excepted) for whatever others got, they ſpent here, only *Dunbar* laid a foun-

foundation of a great Family, which did all revert into *England* againe, with his Daughters marriage with the Houſe of *Suffolke*, ſo in truth, all the water run to their Mills.

It is moſt true, that many *Scots* did get much, but not more with one hand, then they ſpent with the other, witneſſe the Earle of *Kelly*, *Annundale*, &c. nay, that great Getter, the Earl of *Carliſle* alſo, and ſome private Gentlemen; as *Gideon Murrey*, *John Achmoty*, *James Baily*, *John Gib*, and *Barnard Lindley*, got ſome pretty eſtate, not worthy either the naming or enjoying; old Servants ſhould get ſome moderate eſtates to leave to poſterity.

But theſe, and all the *Scots* in generall, got, ſcarce the Tythe of thoſe *Engliſh* Getters, that can be ſaid did ſtick by them, or their poſterity; beſides, *Salisbury* had one

one tricke to get the kernell, and leave the *Scots* but the ſhell, yet caſt all the envie on them; Hee would make them buy Bookes of Fee-farmes, ſome one hundred pound *per annum*, ſome one hundred Markes, and he would compound with them for a thouſand pound, which they were willing to embrace, becauſe they were ſure to have them paſſe without any controle, or charge, and one thouſand pound appeared to them that never ſaw ten pound before, an inexhauſtible treaſure; then would *Salisbury* fill up this Booke with ſuch prime Land, as ſhould be worth ten or twenty thouſand pound, which was eaſie for him, being Treaſurer, ſo to doe; and by this meanes *Salisbury* inriched himſelfe infinitely, yet caſt the envie on the *Scots*, in whoſe names theſe Bookes appeared, and are ſtill upon Record to all poſterity; though

though *Salisbury* had the Honey, they poore Gentlemen but part of the Wax; *Dunbar* only had his Agents, and could play his owne game, which they durſt not croſſe; ſo was the poore King and State cheated on all hands.

And now did a contention ariſe between the *Engliſh* and *Scots*, about the election of a Favourite, out of whether Nation he ſhould come; now was *Montgomery* in the waine, being given more to his own pleaſures, then to obſerve the King, ſo that alway the Earle of *Carliſle* did inveſt him in his roome; he as ſoone by his neglective carriage did deveſt himſelfe, yet was he ever in the Kings good opinion, and one that he put more truſt in at the time of his death, then in all his other ſervants.

Then was a young Gentleman, Maſter *Robert Carre*, who had his breeding in *France*, and was newly re-

Mr. *Carre* his riſe.

returned from Travaile, a Gentleman very handsome, and well bred, and one that was observed to spend his time in serious studies, and did accompany himselfe with none but men of such eminencies, as by whom he might be bettered; this Gentleman, the *Scots* so wrought it, that they got him into a Groomes place of the Bedchamber, and was very well pleasing to all; he did more then any other Associate himselfe, with Sir *Thomas Overbury*, a man of excellent parts, (but those made him proud, over-valuing himselfe, and under-valuing others, and was infected with a kinde of insolency) with this Gentleman spent he most of his time, and drew the eyes of the Court, as well as the affection of his Master upon him, yet very few, but such as were the curious observers, of those times could discerne the drawing of the

Kings

Kings affection, untill upon a Coronation day, riding in with the L. *Dingwel* to the Tilt-yard, his horſe fell with him, and brake his legg, he was inſtantly carried into Maſter *Riders* houſe at *Charing-croſſe*, and the newes as inſtantly carried to the King, having little deſire to behold the triumph, but much deſired to have it ended, and no ſooner ended, but the King went inſtantly to viſite him, and after by his daily viſiting, and mourning over him, taking all care for his ſpeedy recovery, made the day-breake of his glory appeare, every Courtier now concluding him, actually a favourite.

Lord! how the great men flocked then to ſee him, and to offer to his Shrine in ſuch abundance, that the King was forced to lay a reſtraint, leaſt it might retard his recovery by ſpending his ſpirits: & to facilitate the cure, care was

was taken for a choyce Dyet for himſelfe, and Chirurgions, with his Attendants, and no ſooner recovered but a proclaimed Favourite.

Then the *Engliſh* Lords, who formerly coveted an *Engliſh* Favourite (and to that end the Counteſſe of *Suffolke* did look out choyce young men, whom ſhee daily curled, and perfuming their breaths) left all hope, and ſhe her curling and perfuming, all adoring this riſing Sun, every man ſtriving to inveſt himſelfe into this mans favour (not ſparing for bounty nor flattery) which was not hard to be obtained, being naturally more addicted to the *Engliſh* then to the *Scotch*, in ſo much that he endeavoured to forget his native Country, and his Fathers houſe, having none of note about him but *Engliſh*, and but one beſides *Engliſh*, in any

fami-

familiarity with him, which was Sir *Robert Carre* his Kinſ-man; but above all, was Sir *Thomas Overbury* his *Pythias*, then was the ſtrife between *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who ſhould ingroſſe him, and make him their Monopoly; each preſenting, proffering, and accumulating favours upon *Overburies* Kindred, the Father made a Judge in *Wales*, and himſelfe offered an office; but *Overbury*, naturally of an inſolent ſpirit, which was elevated by being ſo intimate with a Favourite, and wholly having ingroſſed that commodity, which could not be retayled, but by him and his favour; with a kind of ſcorne neglected their friendſhips, yet made uſe of both.

Now was *Carre* Knighted, and made Gentleman of the Bed-Chamber, and *Overburies* pride roſe with the others honours, ſtill ſtorming the Chapman, as they

Mr. *Carre* Knighted.

did by their cheap offices undervalue so precious a commodity.

Northampton finding himselfe neglected by so mean a fellow, cast about another way, and followed *Balaams* councell, by sending a *Moabitish* Woman unto him, in which he made use of *Copinger* a Gentleman, who had spent a fair fortune left by his Ancestors, and now, for maintenance, was forced to lead the life of a Serving-man (that formerly kept many to serve him) and as an addition, the worst of that kind, a flat Bawd.

Northamptons plot upon him.

This Gentleman had lived a scandalous life, by keeping a Whore of his owne, which for the honour of her Family I will not name, therefore was fittest to trade in that commodity for another, and in truth was fit to take any impression basenesse could stamp on him, as the sequell of this story will manifest; This

Moabitish

Moabitish woman, was a Daughter of the Earle of *Suffolk*, married to a young noble Gentleman the Earle of *Essex*.

This Train tooke, and the first private meetings were at *Copingers* house, and himselfe Bawd to their luft, which put him into a farre greater bravery for a time, then when he was Master of his owne, but it had bitterneſle on all hands in the end. This privacy in their ſtollen pleaſures, made *Copinger* a friend to *Northampton*, and *Suffolke*, though but a Servant to Viſcount *Rocheſter*, for ſo now was he called, and now had they linked him ſo cloſe, as no breaking from them.

Overbury was that *John Baptiſt* that reproved the Lord, for the ſinne of uſing the Lady, and abuſing the young Earle of *Eſſex*; would call her Strumpet, her mother and brother Bawds, and uſed

them with so much scorne, as in truth was not to be indured by a fellow of his Rank, to persons of that quality, how faulty soever otherwise they were.

Then to satisfie *Overbury*, and blot out the name of Sin, his love led him into a more desperate way by a resolution to marry another mans wife, against this then did *Overbury* bellow lowder, and in it, shewed himselfe more like an affectionate, then a discreet and moderate friend: had he compounded but one dram of discretion with an ounce of affection, hee might with such a receipt, have preserved his own life, and their fortunes and honours.

For those that infinitely hated that Family, did as infinitely condemn his insolent carriage, and behaviour towards them; so that had any of those Brothers, or name, killed *Overbury*, either by picking

picking a quarrell with him, or piſtolling him, or any other deſperate way, or bravely in a Duel, upon ſome other ground of a quarrell, then blemiſhing their ſiſter; the world would have juſtified the action, however he had ſtood with God; but *Bucanons* character of that Family bars all expectation of ſo much bravery of ſpirit; but a Counſel muſt be held to put him to death by ſome baſer means.

The Plot then muſt be, he muſt be ſent a Leidger Embaſſadour into *France*, which by obeying, they ſhould be rid of ſo great an eye-ſore; by diſobeying, he incurred the diſpleaſure of his Prince a contempt, that he could not expect leſſe then impriſonment for, and by that means be ſequeſtred from his friends. The plot againſt *Overbury*.

And thus farre I doe beleeve the Earle of *Somerſet*, (for ſo was

he now created) was consenting; this stratagem tooke, and *Overbury* might truly say, (*Video meliora, deteriora sequor,*) for he indeed made the worst choyce; it could not be thought, but such an imployment was farre above his desert, and much better for him to have accepted, then to be confined to a loathsome Prison, and for want of judgement, had his sufferings been lesse then losse of life, he had not been worthy of pitty; but, *Jupiter quos vult perdere hos dementat*; he would to the Tower, from whence he never returned, rather then accept of an honourable imployment, from whence he might not only have returned, but done his friends acceptable service, either in private or publick.

In his managing of this businesse (that wisedom which formerly he had been esteemed for,) suffered under

under the censure of Wise men, as well as fooles. Having him now fast in Prison; *Herodias* by pleasing her *Herod* must also aske, and have his life; for *per scelus ad scelera tutior est via.* To that end they preferred *Empositides* to be servant to Sir *Gervase Elwayes* then Leiutenant of the Tower, this Gentleman was ever held wise, and honest, but unfortunate in having that place thrust upon him without his thought; he was also so religious, as few in the Court did equall him; so wise, as he obtained the Character of, Wise Sir *Gervase Elwayes*, yet neither could his wisdome, nor the opinion of his religion and honesty, prevent that Fate, he was so ignorant of the plot, as he never dreampt of any such matter; until one day, as it should seem, *Weston* being told, *Elwayes* did know wherefore he was preferred unto

him, to waite on *Overbury*; he asked the Lieutenant whether he ſhould now do it, *Elwayes* asked him, what? *Weſton* at that being ſomewhat abaſhed, *Elwaies* eſpyed it, preſently ſaid, no not yet; for he did beleive there was ſomething known to *Weſton*; inſtantly he haſted away (being a little before dinner) and went into his Study, and ſent for *Weſton* to come unto him, examining him of the meaning of that queſtion; at laſt by faire meanes, and threatning together, got the truth; then *Elwayes*, as hee well could, laid before *Weſton* the horridneſſe of the Fact, the torments of Hell, and the unaſſurance of his momentary injoying, of either reward or favour after the Fact done, but that it muſt follow, ſo many Perſonages of Honour, would never cabinet ſuch a ſecret in his breaſt, that might ruine them

them; at laſt made him ſo ſenſible of his danger in this life; but more ſenſible of the torments in the other, that *Weſton* falling on his knees, ſaid; *O Lord, how good and gracious art thou, and thy mercy is above all thy workes; for this day is ſalvation come to my ſoul, and I would not for all the world have had ſuch a ſinne upon me*; giving the Lieutenant humble thanks, that had been the inſtrument of ſaving his ſoule, by putting him off from ſo foule intentions.

The Lieutenant having now thus renewed grace in him, by making him, as he thought, a new man; ſaid, thou and I have a dangerous part to act, yet be honeſt and true to me, and I doubt not, but with Gods help, we ſhal perform it wel, both before God and the world; *Weſton* faithfully promiſed him, and for a long time as faithfully performed with him; the

the Lieutenant willed him, to bring all such things as were sent him to give *Overbury*, unto him, which he accordingly did; the Lieutenant ever gave them to Cats and Dogs which he ever had ready in his study for that purpose; some dyed presently, some lay lingering a longer time: all which, with the Jellies and Tarts sent to *Overbury*, he cast into his Privy, they destaining the very Dishes.

This continued long, the Earl ever sending to visite *Overbury*, assuring him he did not forget his release, which would not be long deferred, wherein most men did verily beleeve he meant both nobly, and truly, though others conjectured his meaning was a dissolution: at last the Countesse sent for *Weston*, reviling him, and calling him, Treacheous villaine, for had he given those things sent, he

he had not been now alive; vowing, ſhe would be revenged on him; upon the very feare whereof, he after gave thoſe poyſons ſent, without acquainting the Lieutenant; yet for all this ſchooling of *Weſton*, and his aſſurance given of his future fidelity to the Counteſſe, ſhe would not truſt him ſingle any more, but put another Co-adjutor to him, one *Franklin*, a verier Villain then *Weſton*, and truly they may be deemed very ill, that could ſeek out ſuch inſtruments.

Theſe two Villains came into *Overburies* chamber, and found him in infinite torment, with contention between the ſtrength of Nature, and the working of the Poyſon, and it being very like, Nature had gotten the better in that contention, by the thruſting out of boyls, botches, and blains, they fearing it might come to light

light, upon the judgement of Phi-ſitians, that foul play had been of-fered him, conſented to ſtifle him with the Bed-cloathes, which ac-cordingly was performed, and ſo ended his miſerable life, with the aſſurance of the Conſpirators, that he dyed by poyſon; none think-ing otherwiſe, but theſe two Mur-therers.

Now was all, as they beleeved; quiet, and in the depth of ſecuri-ty, and the Earle and Counteſſe began to carry their loves more openly and impudently, ſo that the world did talke very loudly, and broadly of this adulterous meeting, it muſt from that grouud proceed to an adulterous Marri-age, as well to the wronging a young Noble man, as to the diſ-honour and ſhame of themſelves, *But they muſt needs goe the De-vill drives*: yet know not how, handſomely to effect this, but by making

making the King a Party in this bawdy buſineſſe, which was no hard matter to effect; for the Kings eye began to wander after a new Favourite, being ſatiated with the old; therefore for the bringing this bawdery to a marriage, the Biſhops muſt be principall actors (as I know not in what bad action, they would not be lookers on) and the Biſhop of *VVincheſter*, an excellent Civillian, and a very great Scholler, muſt be the principal, for which his Son was Knighted, and will never loſe that title of Sir *Nullity Bilſon*.

For by a nullity of the firſt Marriage, muſt this ſecond take place; many meetings of the Biſhops and the prime Civillians, in which there wanted no bribes from the Lord, Lady, and their Friends, to have this nullity brought to paſſe, wherein the diſcourſe would have better befitted the

the mouths of Bawds and Ruffians, then the grave Divines; among them Bishop *Neal*, then Bishop of *Rochester*, a Creature and Favourite of the house of *Suffolke*; tooke up a learned discourse in the Science of Bawdery, how many degrees in that Science must produce a Nullity, wherein were so many beastly expressions, as for modesty sake I will not recite them, being offensive to my very thoughts and memory; *Aristotles* Problemes was a modest discourse to his, and hee appeared to be better studdied in that, then in Divinity, and to wind up his learned Discourse, concluded, all those met in this Lord, and Lady.

The Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* *Abbot*, to his everlasting fame, mainly opposed all the proceedings, and protested against them, for which hee ever after lived in dis-

disgrace, excluded from the Councell Table, and dyed in the disgrace of the King on Earth, though in favour with the King of Kings.

Yet forsooth to make up the ful measure of Bawdery, and to justifie *Neales* Discourse, that all things in the former Marriage conduced to a nullity, a search must be made; to find whether there had been a penetration, and a Jury of grave Matrons were found fit for that purpose, who with their Spectacles, ground to leslon, not to make the letter larger; after their inspection gave verdict, she was (*intacta virgo*) which was thought very strange, for the World tooke notice that her way was very near beaten so plaine, as if (*regia via*) and in truth, was a common way before *Somerset* did ever travel that way; besides, the World tooke notice they

they two had long lived in Adultery, yet had old *Kettle* a trick for that also.

The Lady of *Essex*, for modesty sake, makes humble suite to the reverend bawdy Bishops, (who were also plotters in this stratagem) that she might not appeare bare-faced, for blushing; but desired to come vailed, with a Taffity over her face; this by all means was thought so reasonable, for a pretty modest Lady, that the bawdy Bishops, and pur-blind Ladyes, which had forgotten modesty themselves, could not think it worthy the denyall; one Mistris *Fines*, neare Kinsf woman to old *Kettle*, was dressed up in the Countesses Cloathes, at that time too young to bee other then (*virgo intacta*) though within two yeares after, had the old Ladyes made their inspection, the orifice would not have

have appeared so small, to have delivered such a verdict as they did, and a just one upon their views though upon some of their knowledges it was not that Lady they were to give verdict upon; if any make doubt of the truth of this Story, the Author delivers upon the reputation of a Gentleman, he had it *verbatim* from a Knight, *S. W. B.* (otherwise of much Honour, though the very dependency on that Family may question it) which did usher the Lady into the place of inspection, and hath told it often to his friends in mirth.

Now is the Nullity pronounced, and the Marriage with *Somerset* with speed solemnized, for which they and the whole Family of *Suffolke* paid deare in after time; and had sower sauce to that sweet meat of their great Son in Law.

And surely he was the most

unfortunate man in that marriage being as generally beloved for himſelfe, and diſpoſition, as hated afterwards for his licking himſelf in that Family, for in all the time of this mans favour, before this Marriage, he did nothing obnoxious to the State, or any baſe thing for his private gain, but whether this was his own nature that curbed him, or that there was then a brave Prince living, and a noble Queen that did awe him, we cannot ſo eaſily judge, becauſe after this marriage, and their death, he did many ill things.

In this Favourites flouriſhing time, came over the *Palſgrave* to marry our Kings daughter, which for the preſent, gave much content, and with the generall applauſe, yet it proved a moſt infortunate match to him and his Poſterity, and all Chriſtendome, for

for all his Alliance with ſo many great Princes, which put on him aſpiring thoughts, and was ſo ambitious as not to content himſelfe with his hereditary patrimony of one of the greateſt Princes in *Germany*; but muſt aſpire to a Kingdome, beleeving that his great allyance would carry him through any enterpriſe, or bring him off with honour, in both which he failed; being caſt out of his own Country with ſhame, and he and his, ever after, living upon the devotion of other Princes; but had his Father in Law ſpent halfe the mony in Swords he did in words, for which he was but ſcorned, it had kept him in his own inheritance, and ſaved much Chriſtian bloud ſince ſhed; but whiles he, being wholly addicted to peace, ſpent much treaſure, in ſending ſtately Embaſſadours to treat his Enemies,

(which he esteemed friends) sent Armies with a lesse charge to conquer, so that it may be concluded, that this then thought the most happy match in Christendome, was the greatest unhappinesse to Christendome, themselves, and posterity.

And as if to fore-tell the sad event, presently after the Gallantry; and triumphing of that Mariage, the Kingdom was clad all in mourning, for the sad obsequies of that most hopeful Prince *Henry*, who dyed not without vehement suspicion of Poyson, and I wish I could say suspicion only; but our future discourse will tell you otherwise: He was only shewed to this Nation, as the Land of *Canaan* was to *Moses*, to look on, not to enjoy: we did indeed joy in that happinesse we expected in him, but God found us so unthankfull, and took so lightly the

the death of that ever famous Queen *Elizabeth*, as he did intend to make us an example of ſcorne now, that were formerly of all glory.

Pr. *Henry* and *Saliſbury's* death.

His death was fore-told by one *Bruce* a moſt famous Aſtrologer of the *Scottiſh* Nation, for which the Earle of *Salisbury*, a great Stateſman, cauſed him to be baniſhed, who left this farewell with the Earle, that it ſhould be too too true, yet his Lordſhip ſhould not live to ſee it, the Earle dying in *May*, the Prince in *November* following, to the infinite griefe of all the Kingdome; but the Earle of *Somerſet* and Family of *Howards*, who by his death thought themſelves ſecured from all future dangers, being a Prince of an open heart, hating all baſeneſſe, would often ſay, If ever he were King, he would not leave one of that Family to piſſe againſt a wall.

This brave Prince being dead, *Somerſet* and that Faction bear all downe before them, diſpoſing of all offices (yet *Somerſet* never turned any out, as the ſucceeding favourite) but places being void, he diſpoſed of them, and who would give moſt, was the word, yet not by *Somerſet* himſelfe, but by his Lady and her Family; for he was naturally of a noble diſpoſition, and it may be juſtly ſaid of him that never could be ſaid of any before, or ever will be of any after him: He never got ſuite for himſelfe or friends that was burthenſom to the Common-wealth, no Monopolies, no Impoſitions; yet in his time, and by his favour, though not for his uſe, were brought into the Court two mean fellowes grand Projectors, the one *Ingram*, an ordinary Waiter of the Cuſtomes, the other *Cranfield* an Apprentice, who had ſerved

Ingram and *Cranfield* Projectors.

ved three broken Citizens, and it is probable by his wit and honesty he might thrive by them all, and lay that for a foundation of his future projecting, the one a creature of *Northamptons*, the other of the house of *Suffolke*, and thus like ill birds defiled their owne nests, and discovered the secrets of the Custom-house, yet their projects seemed for the Kings profit only, though much water ran by his Mill, and *Suffolke* did very well lick his own fingers; for *Salisbury* being dead, *Sustolk* was Treasurer the proper place for Customs, and his Son in Law Chamberlain and Favourite, and then what could not they two doe.

Yet *Somerset* ever kept them but like Projectors, which after Favorites, raised to the degrees of Nobility, only *Suffolk* by *Somersets* power made *Ingram* a Cofferer of the Kings House, which was the

first apparent step to *Somersets* downfall; for however the King made faire semblance to maintain that Act, yet made the E. of *Kelly* his instrument to set the Officers of his houshold to petition against it, and ever from the Kings owne directions to take their instructions, in which one of the principles given, was not to seek to *Somerset* upon any tearmes, nay to deny to accept his favour though offered to disannul his owne act, but to carry it with an high hand against *Somerset*, by which, assurance was given of prevailing, here was pretty jugling; (the Court being then but an *Academy* of Iuglers.) *Somerset* did often Court the Officers to make him that *Achilles* his weapon, that could wound and heale again, but was entertained with scorne, yet ambition so dazled his eyes, he could not see the *precipice* on which they

they ſtood ready for their downfall, for ſurely no Aſtrologers could have given them truer notions of their ruine then this: *Cranfield* the other Projector ſoared higher, though not in *Somerſets* time could he have his feathers imped, but *Buckingham* after did ſo impe them, that *Cranfield* endeavoured to pull out his, and gave him the firſt affront, by this you may obſerve how the times altered from better to worſe, and ſo fitteſt for worthleſſe men.

For now began to appeare a glimering of a new Favourite, one Mr. *George Villers* a younger Son, by a ſecond Venter, of an ancient Knight in *Leiceſterſhire*, as I take it, his Father of an ancient Family, his Mother of a meane, and a waiting Gentlewoman, whom the old man fel in love with and married, by whom he had three ſons, all

Mr. *George Villers* a Favourite.

all raiſed to the Nobility, by meanes of their brother Favourite: this Gentleman was come alſo but newly from Travel, and did beleeve it a great fortune to marry a Daughter of Sir *Roger Aſtons*, and in truth was the height of his ambition, and for that only end was an hanger on upon the Court; the Gentlewoman loved him ſo well, as could all his friends have made her for her great fortune, but an hundred Marks Joynture, ſhe had married him preſently, in deſpight of all her friends; and no queſtion would have had him without any Ioynture at all.

But before the cloſing up of this Match, the King caſt a glancing eye towards him, which was eaſily obſerved by ſuch as obſerved their Princes humour, and then the Match was laid aſide, ſome aſſuring him a greater Fortune

tune was coming to him, then one gave him his place of Cupbearer, that he might be in the Kings eye; another sent to his Mercer and Taylor to put good cloathes on him; a third to his Sempster for curious Linnen, and all as in-comes to obtain Offices upon his future Rise; then others tooke upon them to be his Bravoes, to undertake his quarrels upon affronts put upon him by *Somersets* Faction, so all hands helped to the piecing up this new Favourite.

Then begun the King to eate abroad, who formerly used to eat in his Bed-chamber, or if by chance supped in his Bed-chamber, would come forth to see pastimes and fooleries; in which Sir *Ed. Souch*, Sir *George Goring*, and Sir *John Finit*, were the cheif and Master Fools, and surely this Fooling got them more then any others

others wiſdome, far above them in deſert: *Souch* his part to ſing bawdy ſongs, and tel bawdy tales; *Finit* to compoſe theſe Songs: then were a ſet of Fidlers brought up on purpoſe for this Fooling, & *Goring* was Maſter of the game for Fooleries, ſometimes preſenting *David Droman*, and *Archee Armſtrong* the Kings Fool, on the back of the other fools, to tilt one at another, till they fell together by the ears; ſometimes Antick Dances, but Sir *John Milliſent*, who was never knowne before was commended for notable fooling, and ſo was he the beſt extemporary fool of them all; with this jollity was this Favourite uſhered in, this made the houſe of *Suffolk* fret, and *Somerſet* carried himſelfe more proudly, and his Bravado's, ever quarrelling with the others, which by his Office of L. *Chamberlaine* for a while carried

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it, but *Somerset* using of Sir *Ralph Wynhood* (whom himselfe brought in for a Secretary of State) in so scornfull a manner (he having only the title, the Earl himself keeping the Seals, and doing the businesse) made *VVynhood* endeavour to ruine him, who soon got an opportunity by frequenting the Countesse of *Shrewsbury*, then prisoner in the Tower, who told *VVynhood* on a time, that *Overbury* was poysoned, which she understood from Sir *Gervase Elwaies*; who did labour by her means to deale with her two sonnes in Law, *Arundell* and *Pembrook* (*VVynhood* also being great with that faction) that when it came into question, he might save his owne stake, who truly was no otherwise guilty, but that he did not discover it at *VVestons* first disclosing it, (he being Keeper of the prison) so by inference his not disclosing it, was *Overbu-*

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ries death; and had he revealed it then, I dare say he had been brought into the *Starre-chamber* for it, and undone (for it was not the time fit for discovery.) *Wynwood*, it was thought, acquainted the King with it, knowing how willingly he would have been rid of *Somerset*, yet the King durst not bring it in question, nor any question ever would have been, had not *Somerset* fought to crosse him in his passion of love to his new Favourite, in which the King was more impatient, then any woman to enjoy her love.

Not long after *Thrumball* Agent at *Bruxels*, had by an Apothecaries boy one *Reeve*, after an Apothecary himselfe in *London*, and dyed very lately, gotten hold of this poysoning businesse, for *Reeve* having under his Master, made some of those desperate Medicines, either run away, or else his

his Maſter ſent hlm out of the way, & ſel in company of *Thrumbals* ſervants at *Bruxels*, to whom he reveal'd it, they to their maſter, who examining the boy, diſcovered the truth; *Thrumball* preſently wrote to Secretary *Wyckeed* he had buſineſſe of conſequence to diſcover, but would not ſend it, therefore deſired licence to come over. The King would not yeeld to his return, but willed him to ſend an Expreſſe: That *Thrumball* utterly refuſed, and very wiſely, for letting any thing appeare under his hand, leſt the boy ſhould dye, or run away, and then himſelfe made the Authour of that which the courteſie of another muſt have juſtified.

The King being of a longing diſpoſition, rather then he would not know, admitted *Thrumbals* returne, and now had they good teſtimony by the Apothecary, who

revea-

revealed *VVeston*, Mrs. *Turner*, and *Franklyn* to be principall Agents, yet this (being now the time of progresse) was not stirred till about Michaelmas; yet *VVynhood* did now carry himselfe in a braving way of contestation against *Somerset*, struck in with the Faction of *Villers*, and now on progress. The King went westward where he was feasted at *Cranborn*, by a Son in Law of that Family; at *Lulworth* and *Binden*, by the Lord *VValden*; at *Charlton* by Sir *Thomas Howard*, and nothing but one Faction braving the other; then was the K. feasted at *Purbeck* by the L. *Hatton*, who was of the contrary Faction, and at a Ioynture house of Sir *George Villers* mother, called *Gotly*, where he was magnificently entertained.

After all this feasting, homeward came the King, who desired by all meanes to reconcile this clash-

clashing between his declining and rising Favourite; to which end, an *Lulworth* the King imployed Sir *Humfrey* May, a great servant to *Somerset*, and a wise servant to *Villers*, but with such instructions as if it came from himselfe, and *Villers*, had order presently after Sir *Humfrey* Mayes returne, to present himselfe and service to *Somerset*. My Lord, said he, Sir *George Villers*, will come to you to offer his service, and desire to be your creature; and therefore refuse him not, embrace him, and your Lordship shall still stand a great man, though not the sole Favourite: My Lord seemed averse, Sir *Humphrey* then told him in plain tearmes, that he was sent by the King to advise it, and that *Villers* would come to him to cast himselfe into his protection, to take his rise under the shadow of his wings: Sir *Hum-*

ſerey *May* was not parted from my Lord halfe an houre, but in comes Sir *George Villers* and uſed theſe very words, *My Lord I deſire to be your ſervant, and your creature, and ſhall deſire to take my Court-preferment under your favour and your Lordſhip, and your Lordſhip ſhal finde mee as faithfull a ſervant unto you, as ever did ſerve you.* My Lord returned this quick and ſhort anſwer, *I will none of your ſervice, and you ſhall none of my favour, I will, if I can, breake your necke, and of that be confident.* This was but a harſh Complement, and ſavoured more of ſpirit then wiſdome; and ſince that time breaking each others necks was their aimes, and its verily beleeved, had *Somerſet* complyed with *Villers*, *Overburies* death had ſtill lain raked up in his owne aſhes; but God, who will never ſuffer murther to goe unpuniſhed, will have what he will, maugre all the

the wiſdome of the World.

To *Windſor* doth the King returne, to end his Progreſſe, from thence to *Hampton-Court*, then to *White-Hal*, and ſhortly after to *Royſton*, to beginne His Winter-Journey.

And now begins the game to be plaid, in which *Somerſet* muſt be the loſer, the Cards being ſhuffled, cut, and dealt betweene the King and Sir *Edward Cooke*, Cheife Juſtice, whoſe Daughter *Purbeck Villers* had marryed, or was to marry, and therefore a fit Inſtrument to ruine *Somerſet*, and Secretary *Winwood*; theſe all playd, the ſtake, *Somerſets* life, and his Ladies, and their Fortunes, and the Family of *Suffolke*; ſome of them played booty, and in truth the Game was not plaid above-board. The day the King went from *White-Hal* to *Theobalds*, and ſo to *Royſton*, the King ſent for all the

Judges (his Lords and Servants encirculing him,) where kneeling down in the midst, he used these words:

My *Lords, the Judges; it is lately come to my hearing, that you have now in examination a businesse of poysoning, Lord in what a most miserable condition shall this Kingdom be, (the onely famous Nation for hospitality in the World) if our Tables should become such a snare, as none could eate without danger of life, and that* Italian *custome should be introduced amongst us; Therefore my Lords, I charge you, as you will answer it at that great and dreadfull day of Judgement, that you examine it strictly without favour, affection, or partiality; and if you shall spare any guilty of this crime, Gods curse light upon you and your posterity: And if I spare any that are found guilty, Gods curse light on me, and my posterity for ever*: But how this dread-

full

full thunder-Curse or imprecation was performed, shall be shewed hereafter; and I pray God, the effect be not felt amongst us, even at this day (as it hath been, I fear, on that vertuous Lady *Elizabeth*; and her children,) for God treasures up such imprecations and deprecations, and poures them out when a Nation least dreames, even when they cry, peace, peace, to their soules; and it may well be (at this time, our other sinnes concurring) pouring out upon King, Judges, and the whole State.

It appeares how unwilling the King was to ruine *Somerset*, a creature of his owne making, *sed immedicabile vulnus, Ense rescindendum est*, Grace was offered by the King, had he had grace to have apprehended it.

The King with this, tooke his farewell for a time of *London*, and

was accompanyed with *Somerset* to *Royston* (where no sooner hee brought him) but instantly took leave, little imagining what viper lay amongst the hearbs; nor must I forget to let you know how perfect the King was in the art of dissimulation, or to give it his own phrase (*King-craft*,) The Earle of *Somerset* never parted from him with more seeming affection then at this time, when he knew *Somerset* should never see him more; and had you seen that seeming affection (as the Author himselfe did) you would rather have beleeved he was in his rising, then setting: The Earle when he kissed his hand, the King hung about his neck, slabboring his cheeks; saying, for Gods sake when shall I see thee againe? On my soule, I shall neither eate nor sleepe until you come againe; the Earle told him, on Monday (this being on

K. James his sparting with Somerset.

the Friday,)for Gods ſake let me ſaid the King,ſhall I? ſhall I? Then lolled about his neck; then, for Gods ſake, give thy Lady this kiſſe for me: in the ſame manner at the ſtayres head, at the middle of the ſtayres, and at the ſtayres foote; the Earle was not in his Coach, when the King uſed theſe very words(in the hearing of four ſervants,of whom,one was *Somerſets* great creature, and of the Bed-chamber,who reported it inſtantly to the Authour of this Hiſtory) *I ſhal never ſee his face more.* I appeal to the Reader,whether this Motto of *Qui neſcit diſſimulare, neſcit regnare,* was not as well performed in this paſſage,as his *Beati pacifici,* in the whole courſe of his life; and his love to the latter, made him to be beaten with his own weapon in the other by all Princes and States that had to do with him.

But before *Somersets* approach to *London* his Counteſſe was apprehended, at his arrivall, himſelf, and the King being that night at ſupper, ſaid to Sir *Thomas Monſon*, My Lord cheife Juſtice hath ſent for you; he asked the King, when he ſhould waite on him againe, who replyed, you may come when you can: And (as in the ſtory of *Byron*, and many others) there have been many fooliſh obſervations: as preſage, ſo was there in this Gentleman, who was the Kings Mr. Faulconer, and in truth ſuch a one, as no Prince in Chriſtendom had; for what Flights other Princes had, he would excel them for his Maſter, in which one was at the Kite.

Sir *Thomas Monſon* an excellent Faulconer

The *French* ſending over his Faulconers to ſhew that ſport, his Maſter Faulconer lay long here, but could not kill one Kite, ours being more magnanimous then

then the *French* Kite; Sir *Thomas Monſon* deſired to have that flight in all exquitnes, and to that end was at 1000*li.* charge in Goſ-Faulcons for that flight, in all that charge, he never had but one caſt would perform it; and thoſe had killed nine Kites, never miſſed one. The Earle of *Pembrook* with all the Lords, deſired the King but to walk out of *Royſton* Towns end, to ſee that Flight, which was one of the moſt ſtatelieſt Flights of the world, for the high mountee: the King went unwillingly forth, the Flight was ſhewed, but the Kite went to ſuch a mountee, as all the field loſt ſight of Kite and Hawke and al, and neither Kite nor Hawke were either ſeen or heard of to this preſent, which made all the Court conjecture it a very ill *omen*,

So that you ſee, the plot was ſo well laid, as they could be all within

within the toyle at one instant not knowing of each other. Now are in hold, the Earl, his Countesse Sir *Thomas Monson*, Mistris *Turner* (a very lewd and infamous woman of life) *Weston* and *Franklin*, with some others of lesse note, of which one *Symon* a servant to Sir *Thomas Monson*, who was imployed in carrying Jelly and Tart to the Tower, who upon his examination, for his pleasant answer, was instantly dismissed. My Lord told him, *Symon* you have had a hand in this poysoning businesse; No, my good Lord, I had but one finger in it, which almost cost mee my life, and at the best cost me all my Haire and Nailes; for the truth was, *Symon* was somewhat liquorish, and finding the syrrup swim from the top of a Tart as he carryed it, he did with his finger skim it off, and it was to be beleeved, had he known what

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it had been, hee would not have been his Taſter at ſo dear a rate; and that you may know *Symons* intereſt with that Family, I ſhall tell you a ſtory.

Sir *Thomas Monſon* was a great lover of Muſick, and had as good as *England* had, eſpecially for voyces, and was at infinite charge in breeding ſome in *Italy*. This *Symon* was an excellent Muſician, and did ſing delicately, but was a more generall Muſician than ever the world had: Hee had a *Catro* of an immenſe length and bignes, with this, being his Tabor ſtick, his palme of his hand his Tabor, and his mouth his Pipe, he would ſo imitate a tabor & Pipe, as if it had beene ſo indeed: To this Muſick, would Mrs. *Turner*, the young Ladyes, and ſome of that Gig, dance ever after Supper; the old Lady, who loved that Muſicke as well as her Daughters, would ſit and

and laugh, ſhe could ſcarce ſit for laughing; and it was beleeved, that ſome of them danced after that Pipe without the Tabor, his Maſter comming to heare of it, turned him away, but was infinitly importuned to take him again, he could not have wanted a ſervice, but he never durſt uſe his pipe amongſt them, for their dancing recreation, how ever he might for any other.

And now poore Mrs. *Turner* *Weſton* and *Franklin* began the Tragedy, Mrs. *Turners* day of mourning being better then the day of her birth: for ſhe dyed very penitently, and ſhewed much modeſty in her laſt act, which is to be hoped was accepted with God, after that dyed *Weſton*; and then was *Franklin* arraigned, who confeſſed that *Overbury* was ſmothered to death, not poyſoned to death; though he had poyſon given him.

Here

Here was *Cooke* glad, how to caſt about to bring both ends together, Mrs. *Turner*, and *Weſton* being already hanged for killing *Overbury* with poyſon, but he being the very quinteſſence of Law, preſently informes the Jury, that if a man be don to death with Piſtols, Poniards, Swords, Halter, Poyſon, *&c.* ſo he be done to death, the Indictment is good, if but indicted for any of thoſe ways; but the good Lawyers of thoſe times were not of that opinion, but did beleeve, that Mrs. *Turner* was directly murthered by my Lord *Cookes* Law, as *Overbury* was without any Law.

In the next place, comes the Counteſſe to her Tryall, at whoſe Arraignment, as alſo at Mrs. *Turners* before, were ſhewed many Pictures, Puppits, with ſome Exorciſme and Magick ſpells, which made them appeare more odious,

as

as being known to converſe with Witches and Wizards; and amongſt the tricks, *Formans* book was ſhewed, this *Forman* was a fellow dwelt in *Lambeth*, a very ſilly fellow, yet had wit enough to cheate Ladyes, and other women, by pretending skill in telling their Fortunes, as whether they ſhould bury their Husbands, and what ſecond Husbands they ſhould have, and whether they ſhould injoy their Loves, or whether Maids ſhould get Husbands, or injoy their ſervants to themſelves without Corrivalls; but before hee would tell any thing, they muſt write their names to his Alphabeticall booke, with their owne hand writing; by this trick hee kept them in awe, if they ſhould complaine of his abuſing them, as in truth he did nothing elſe: Beſides, it was beleeved, ſome meetings was at his houſe, and that the

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art of Bawd was more beneficiall to him, then that of a Conjurer; and that he was a better Artiſt in the one, then the other; and that you may know his skill, hee was himſelfe a Cuckold, having a very pretty wench to his Wife, which would ſay, ſhe did it to try his skil, but it fared with him as with Aſtrologers, that canot foreſee their own deſtiny. I well remember, there was much mirth made in the Court, upon the ſhewing this book, for it was reported, the firſt leafe my Lord *Cock* lighted on, he found his owne wives name.

The next that came on the ſtage; was Sir *Thomas Monſon*; but the night before hee was to come to his Tryal, the King being at the game of Maw, ſaid, To morrow comes *Tom Monſon* to his Tryal; yea, ſaid the Kings * Card-holder, where if hee doe not play his Maſters prize, your Majeſty ſhall never S. H. M.

ver truſt me; this ſo runne in the Kings mind, as the next game, he ſaid hee was ſleepy, and would play out that Set next night; the Gentleman departed to his lodging, but was no ſooner gone, but the King ſent for him, what communication they had, I know not, (yet it may bee can more eaſily gueſſe then any other,) but it is moſt certain, next under God, that Gentleman ſaved his life, for the King ſent a Poſt preſently to *London*, to let the Lord cheiſe Iuſtice know, he would ſee *Monſons* examination and confeſſion, to ſee if it were worthy to touch his life, for ſo ſmall a matter; *Monſon* was too wiſe to ſet any thing but faire in his confeſſion, what hee would have ſtab'd with, ſhould have been (*viva voce*) at his Arraignment. The King ſent word, he ſee nothing worthy of death, or of bonds, in his Accuſation or Examina-

mination : *Cook* was so mad, he could not have his will of *Monson*, that he said, Take him away, we have other matters against him of an higher nature; with which words, out issues about a dozen Warders of the Tower, and took him from the Barre; and *Cooks* malice was such against him as, though it rained extreamely, and *Monson* not well, he made him goe a foot from the *Guild-Hall* to the Tower, which almost cost him his life; there he lay a close prisoner above three months, to the end to get a Recorders place (that *Cranfield* desired) every man thinking him in some Treason, would not lend him Money, and if so much money had not been paid by such a time, his place had been forfeited. And in this let me commend the part of a true friend in Sir *Humfrey May*, who at 24.

houres, made his Brother *Herick* take up 2000. l. and pay it, to save his Office, without so much as any security from Sir *Thomas Monson* (for he was close prisoner) or from any friend of his; & that you may know it was for his Office only, this hard measure was shewed him, the Money was no sooner paid, but his friends might come unto him; and I must not let passe the skill of the Lord *Loriskeine*, a *Scotch-man*, who long before, by his physiognomy, told Sir *George Marshall*, that Sir *Thomas Monson* would escape hanging neerer then ever any man did; which was true, for hee was twice brought to his triall, put himself both times upon his Country, yet was only indicted, never tried, and yet he had harder measure then ever any man had, for he lost his Office, being but indicted, and not

not condemned, which is without any preſident.

And now for the laſt act, enters *Somerſet* himſelfe on the Stage, who (being told, as the manner is, by the Lieutenant, that he muſt provide to goe next day to his tryall) did abſolutely refuſe it, and ſaid, they ſhould carry him in his Bed; that the King had aſſured him, he ſhould not come to any tryall, neither durſt the King to bring him to tryall; this was in an high ſtraine, and in a language not well underſtood by *George Moore* (Lieutenant in *Elwaies* his roome) that made *Meore* quiver and ſhake, and however he was accounted a wiſe man, yet he was neer at his wits end.

Yet away goes *Moore* to *Greenwich*, as late as it was (being 12. at night) bounſeth at the backſtayres, as if mad, to whom came

Jo. Loveſton, one of the Groomes out of his bed, enquires the reaſon of that diſtemper at ſo late a ſeaſon; *Moore* tells him he muſt ſpeake with the King; *Loveſton* replyes, he is quiet (which in the Scottiſh dialect, is faſt aſleep) *Moor* ſayes, you muſt awake him; *Moore* was called in, (the Chamber left to the King and *Moore*) he tels the King thoſe paſſages, and deſired to be directed by the King, for hee was gone beyond his owne reaſon to heare ſuch bold and undutifull expreſſions, from a faulty Subject againſt a juſt Soveraign: The King falls into a paſſion of teares: O my ſoule, *Moore*, I wot not what to doe, thou art a wiſe man, help me in this great ſtraight, and thou ſhalt find thou doſt it for a thankfull Maſter, with other ſad expreſſions; *Moore* leaves the King in that paſſion, but aſſures him he

he will prove the utmoſt of his wit, to ſerve his Majeſty, and was really rewarded with a ſuit worth to him 1500. *l.* (although *Annundale* his great friend, did cheat him of one half) ſo was there falſhood in friendſhip.

Sir *George* Moor returnes to *Somerſet* about three next morning, of that day he was to come to triall, enters *Somerſets* chamber, tells him he had been with the King, found him a moſt affectionate Maſter unto him, and full of grace in his intentions towards him, but (ſaid he) to ſatisfie Juſtice, you muſt appeare, although return inſtantly again, without any further proceeding, only you ſhall know your enemies, and their malice, though they ſhall have no power over you: With this tricke of wit, he allayed his fury, and got him quietly, about eight in the

Somerſets Tryall.

morning to the Hall, yet feared his former bold language might revert againe, and being brought by this trick into the toile, might have more inraged him to fly out into some strange discovery, that he had two servants placed on each side of him, with a Cloake on their armes, giving them a peremptory order, if that *Somerset* did any way fly out on the King, they should instantly hoodwinke him with that Cloake, take him violently from the Barre, and carry him away; for which, he would secure them from any danger, and they should not want also a bountifull reward. But the Earl finding himselfe over-reached, recollected a better temper, and went on calmly in his Tryall, where he held the company until 7. at night. But who had seen the Kings restlesse motion all the day, sending

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to every Boat he ſee landing at the Bridge, curſing all that came without tydings, would have eaſily judged all was not right, and there had bin ſome grounds for his feares of *Somerſets* boldneſſe; but at laſt one bringing him word he was condemned, and the paſſages, All was quiet. This is the very relation from *Moores* owne mouth, and this told to two Gentlemen (of which the Author was one) that had no aſſurance of their honeſty, but though he failed in his wiſdome, or rather doted at this inſtant, yet they failed not in that worth inherent in every Noble ſpirit, never ſpeaking of it till the Kings death, both the Gentlemen being now alive, and had this *verbatim* from *Moore* in *Wanſtead* Parke.

And there were other ſtrong inducements, to beleeve *Somerſet*

knew that by him, he desired none other in the world should be partaker of, and that all was not peace within in the Peace-maker himselfe; for he ever courted *Somerset* to his dying day, and gave him 4000.*l.per annum* for Fee-farm Rents, after he was condemned, which he tooke in his servants names, not his owne (as then being condemned; not capable of) and hee then resolved never to have pardon. I have heard it credibly reported, he was told by a Wizzard, that could he but come to see the Kings face againe, hee should be re-invested in his former dearenesse; this had been no hard experiment, but belike he had too much Religion, to trust to Wizzards, or else some friends of his had trusted them, and been deceived by them, that hee had little reason to put confidence in them.

Many

Many beleeve him guilty of *Overburies* death, but the moſt thought him guilty onely of the breach of friendſhip (and that in a high point) by ſuffering his imprisonment, which was the highway to his murther; and this conjecture I take to be of the ſoundeſt opinion; for by keeping him out of the action (if it were diſcovered) his greatneſſe fortified with innocency, would carry their nocencies through all dangers; for the Gentleman himſelfe, he had misfortune, to marry ſuch a woman, in ſuch a Family, which firſt undermined his Honour, afterwards his life (at leaſt to be dead in Law;) nor did any thing reflect upon him in all his time of Favourite, but in, and by that Family; firſt in his adulterous marriage, then in ſo hated a Family, and the bringing in *Cranfield* and

Ingram

Ingram, as Projectors, all by his wives and friends meanes; otherwise, had he been the braveſt Favourite of our time, full of Majeſty, imploying his time like a Stateſ-man, and the King kept correſpondency with him by Letters, almoſt weekly, to his dying day.

And here have we brought this great man to his end, with his Counteſſe, Mris. *Turner*, *Veſton*, *Franklyn* and *Elwaies* dyed in the Tower, and here dyed this great buſineſſe, *Weſton* ever ſaying, it never troubled him, to dye with ſo many blue Ribbons: And its verily beleeved, when the King made thoſe terrible Imprecations on himſelfe, Deprecations of the Judges, it was intended the Law ſhould run in its proper channell, but was ſtopt and put out of courſe by the folly of that great Clerk,

Clerk, Sir *Edward Cook*, though no wiſe man, who in a vaine-glorious ſpeech, to ſhew his vigilancy, enters into a rapture as he ſate on the Bench, ſaying, *God knowes what became of that ſweet Babe Prince* Henry (*but I know ſomewhat*;) and ſurely in ſearching the Cabinets, he lighted on ſome Papers, that ſpake plaine in that which was ever whiſpered, which, had he gone on in a gentle way, would have falne in of themſelves, not to have been prevented, but this folly of his tongue, ſtopt the breath of that diſcovery, of that ſo foule a murder, which, I feare, cryes ſtill for vengeance.

And now begins the new Favourite to reigne, without any controlement; now he riſes in honour, as well as ſwells with pride, being broken out of the modeſt bounds, formerly had impayled

payled him, to the high-way of pride and ſcorne, turning out, and putting in all he pleaſed: Firſt, he muſt aſpire to the Admiralls Office himſelfe, and would not let the old Gentleman (ſo wel deſerving in that place) dye with that Title, but the King muſt put himſelfe to a great charge, to put out the better, and take in the worſe; yet for all his immenſe greatneſſe, would never let him be Admirall, untill he had firſt ſetled Sir *Robert Manſell* Vice-Admirall of *England*, during his life, by Patent, in which, he not only manifeſted his love to his Noble friend, though ſometime his ſervant, but his care to the State, that his experience and abilities, might ſupport the others inabilities; wel knowing, that the Honour and ſafety of the Kingdom, conſiſted in the wel-ordering and ſtrength of the Navy.

Next

Next *Egerton* had diſpleaſed him, not giving way to his exorbitant deſires, he muſt out, and would not let him ſeale up his dying eyes, with the ſeals which he had ſo long carryed, and ſo well diſcharged; and to deſpite him the more, and to vex his very ſoule, in the laſt Agony, he ſent *Bacon*, his deſired Succeſſor (one he hated) for the Seales, which the old mans ſpirit could not brook, but ſent them by his owne ſervant to the King, and ſhortly after yeelded his ſoule to his Maker.

And to the end you may know what men were made choyce of, to ſerve turnes, I ſhall ſet you downe a true ſtory: This great Favourite ſent a Noble Gentleman, and of much worth, to *Bacon*, with this Meſſage, that he knew him to be a man of excellent parts, and as the times were, fit to ſerve

Buckinghams Meſſage to *Bacon*.

ſerve his Maſter in the Keepers place, but he alſo knew him of a baſe and ingratefull diſpoſition, and an arrant Knave, apt in his proſperity, to ruine any that had raiſed him from adverſity; yet for all this, he did ſo much ſtudy his Maſters ſervice (knowing how fit an inſtrument he might be for him) that he had obtained the Seales for him; but with this aſſurance, ſhould he ever requite him, as he had done ſome others, to whom he had bin more bound, he would caſt him down as much below ſcorne, as he had now raiſed him high above any Honour he could ever have expected.

Bacon, being then Attourney, patiently hearing this Meſſage, replyed, I am glad my noble Lord deales ſo friendly and freely with mee, and hath made that choyſe of ſo diſcreet and Noble a friend,

Bacon's Anſwer.

friend, to convey it unto me, and that hath delivered the Meſſage in ſo plaine language; but, ſaith he, can my Lord know theſe abilities in me, and can he think when I have attained the higheſt preferment my profeſſion is capable of, I ſhall ſo much faile in my judgement, and underſtanding, as to loſe theſe abilities? and by my miſcarriage to ſo noble a Patron, caſt my ſelfe headlong from the top of that honour, to the very bottome of contempt and ſcorn? Surely, my Lord cannot think ſo meanely of me. The Gentleman replyed, I deliver you nothing of my ſelfe, but the words are put into my mouth by his Lordſhip, to which I neither adde nor diminiſh; for had it been left to my diſcretion, ſurely, though I might have given you the ſubſtance, yet ſhould I have apparelled it

it in a more moddeſt attire; but as I have faithfully delivered my Lords to you, ſo will I as faithfully returne yours to his Lordſhip.

You muſt underſtand the reaſon of this Meſſage, was his ungratefulneſſe to *Eſſex*, which every one could remember, for the Earle ſaved him from ſtarving, and he requited him ſo, as his Apology muſt witneſſe; were there not a great fault, there needed no Apology; nor could any age, but a worthleſſe, and corrupt in men and manners, have thought him worthy ſuch a place of honour.

Well, Lord Keeper hee was, for which he paid nothing, nor was he able; for now was there a new trick to put in diſhoneſt and neceſſitous men, to ſerve ſuch turnes, as men of plentyfull fortunes, and faire reputations, would not

not accept of; and this filled the Church and Common-wealth ful of beggerly fellowes (such daring to venture on any thing) having nothing to lose; (for it is riches makes men cowards; Poverty, daring and valiant, to adventure at any thing to get somthing) yet did not *Buckingham* doe things *gratis*, but what their purses could not stretch unto, they paid in pensions out of their places, all which went to maintaine his numerous beggerly kindred; *Bacon* paid a Pension, *Heath* Atturney paid a Pension, *Bargrave* Deane, paid a Pension, with many others: Nor was this any certaine rule, for present portions must be raised, for the Mariage of a poore Kitchin Maid, to be made a great Countesse; for *Fotherby* made Bishop of *Sarum*, paid 3500. l. and some also, worthy men, were preferred *gratis*, to blow up their

Buckinghams course to raise his kindred.

Fames, and Trumpet forth their Nobleneſſe (as *Tolſon*, a worthy man, paid nothing in Fine or Penſion; after him, *Davenat*, in the ſame Biſhoprick;) but theſe were but as Muſick before every hound; nor were fines or penſions certain, but where men were rich, there Fines without reſervation of rent; where poore, and ſuch as would ſerve turnes, there Penſions, no Fines; ſo *Weſton*, and many others: There were books of rates on all Offices, Biſhopricks, Deaneries in *England*, that could tell you what Fines, what Penſions, otherwiſe had it been impoſſible ſuch a numerous kindred could have been maintained with three Kingdomes Revenue.

Now was *Bacon* inveſted in his Office, and within ten dayes after, the King goes to *Scotland*; *Bacon* inſtantly begins to believe himſelf King, lyes in the Kings Lodgings, gives

gives audience in the great Banquetting Houſe, makes all other Councellors attend his motions, with the ſame ſtate the King uſed to come out, to give audience to Embaſſadours; when any other Councellor ſate with him about the Kings affaires, would (if they ſate neare him) bid them know their diſtance; upon which, *Wynhood*, Secretary, roſe, went away, and would never ſit more, but inſtantly diſpatcht one to the King, to deſire him to make haſte back, for his Seat was already uſurped: At which, I remember, the King reading it unto us, both the King and wee were very merry; and if *Buckingham* had ſent him any Letter, would not vouchſafe the opening or reading in publique, though it was ſaid, it required ſpeedy diſpatch, nor would vouchſafe him any anſwer. In this poſture he lived, untill he heard the

Bacons pride.

King was returning, and began to believe the Play was almoſt at an end, he might perſonate a Kings part no longer, and therefore did again re-inveſt himſelf with his old rags of baſenes, which were ſo tattered and poore at the Kings comming to *Windſor*; he attended two dayes at *Buckinghams* Chamber, being not admitted to any better place, then the roome where trencher-ſcrapers and Lacquies attended, there ſitting upon an old wooden cheſt, (amongſt ſuch as for his baſeneſſe, were only fit for his companions, although the Honour of his place did merit farre more reſpect) with his Purſe and Seal lying by him, on that cheſt; My ſelfe told a ſervant of my Lord of *Buckinghams*, it was a ſhame to ſee the Purſe and Seale of ſo little value, or eſteeme in his Chamber, though the Carryer without it, merited nothing

He is ſcorned.

nothing but ſcorne, being worſt among the baſeſt. He told mee they had command it muſt be ſo; after two dayes he had admittance: at firſt entrance, fell down flat on his face at the Dukes foot, kiſſing it, vowing never to riſe till he had his pardon, then was hee againe reconciled, and ſince that time ſo very a ſlave to the Duke, and all that Family, that he durſt not deny the command of the meaneſt of the kindred, nor oppoſe any thing; by this you ſee, a baſe ſpirit is ever moſt concomitant with the proudeſt minde, and ſurely never ſo many brave parts, and ſo baſe and abject a ſpirit tenanted together in anyone earthen Cottage; as in this one man: I ſhall not remember his baſeneſſe, being out of his place, of pinning himſelfe, for very ſcraps, on that Noble Gentleman, Sir *Julius Cæſars* Hoſpitality, that at laſt

he was forced to get the Kings Warrant to remove him out of his houſe; yet in his proſperity, the one being Chancellor, and the other Maſter of the Rolls, did ſo ſcorne and abuſe him, as he would alter any thing the other did.

And now *Buckingham* having the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and all great Officers his very ſlaves, ſwels in the height of pride, ſummons up all his Country kindred, the old Counteſſe providing a place for them to learne to carry themſelves in a Court-like garbe, but becauſe they could not learne the French Dances ſo ſoon as to be in gay Clothes, Country Dances muſt be the garbe of the Court, and none elſe muſt be uſed.

Then muſt theſe women-kindred be married to Earles, Earles eldeſt Sonnes, Barons, or chiefe Gentlemen of greateſt eſtates, inſomuch that the very female kin-

dred

dred were so numerous, as sufficient to have peopled any Plantation; nay, very Kitchin-wenches were married to Knights eldest sonnes; yet, as if *England* had not matches enough in the Kingdome, they married like the house of *Austria*, in their owne kindred, witnesse the E. of *Anglice*, married a coulen-German, to whom he had given earnest before; so that King *James*, that naturally, in former times, hated women, had his Lodgings repleniſhed with them, and all of the Kindred. The Brethren, great Earls. Little children did runne up and downe the Kings Lodgings, like little Rabbit-ſtarters about their boroughs: Here was a ſtrange change, that the King, who formerly would not endure his Queen and Children in his Lodgings, now you would have judged, that none but women frequented them; nay,

that was not all, but the kindred had all the houſes about *White-Hall* (as if Bulwarks and Flankers about that Cittadale.) But above all, the miracles of thoſe times, old Sir *Anthony Aſhley*, who never loved any but boyes, yet he was ſnatcht up for a kinſewoman, as if there had beene a concurrency thorow the Kingdome, that thoſe that naturally hated women, yet loved his kindred, as well as the King him.

And the very old Midwives of that kindred, flockt up for preferment, of which, old Sir *Chriſtopher Perkins*, a woman-hater, that never meant to marry, nay it was ſaid, he had made a vow of Virginity, yet was coupled to an old Midwife, ſo that you ſee the greatneſſe of this Favourite, who could force (by his power over the King) though againſt Nature.

But

But I must tell you, this got him much hatred, to raise brothers, and brother-in-laws to the highest ranke of Nobility, which were not capable of the place, scarce of a Justice of the Peace, only his brother *Purbeck* had more wit and honesty then all the kindred beside, and did keepe him in some bounds of honesty and modesty, whilst he lived about him, and would speake plaine English to him: for which plainnesse, when they had no colour to put him from his brother, they practised to make him mad, and thought to bring that wicked stratagem to effect, by countenancing a wicked woman, his wife, the Lord *Cookes* daughter against him, even in her base and lewd living.

And now is *Purbeck* mad, and put from Court, now none great with *Buckingham*, but Bawds and Parasites, and such as humoured him

him in his unchaſte pleaſures; ſo that ſince his firſt being a pretty, harmeleſſe, affable Gentleman, he grew inſolent, cruell, and a monſter not to be endured.

And now is *Williams*, ſometimes Chaplaine to the Lord Keeper *Egerton*, brought into play, made a privie Councellor, Deane of *Weſtminſter*, and of ſecret Councell with the King, he was alſo made Biſhop of *Lincolne*, and was generally voyced at his firſt ſtep, to marry *Buckinghams* Mother, who was in her husbands time, created a Counteſſe (he remaining ſtill) a C. ſilly drunken ſot) and this was the firſt preſident of this kind ever known. *Williams* held her long in hand, and no doubt, in nature of her Confeſſor, was her ſecret friend, yet would not marry, which afterwards was cauſe of his downfall at the preſent.

Then was there a Parliament ſum-

ſummoned, in which, *Bacon* for his bribery and injuſtice, was thruſt out, being cloſely proſecuted by one *Morby* a Woodmonger, and one *Wrenham*, formerly deeply cenſured in the *Star-Chamber* for accuſing him of bribery and injuſtice; *Bacon* was by Parliament juſtly put out of his place, and but only for the Votes of the Biſhops, had been degraded; the Biſhops might have done better to have kept their voyces to have done themſelves ſervice at this time, but ſurely that, with ſome other injuſtice of theirs, had ſo filled up their meaſure of iniquity, that now Gods anger is kindled againſt them.

In *Bacons* place comes *Williams*, a man on purpoſe brought in at firſt to ſerve turnes, but in this place to doe that which none of the Layity could be found bad enough to undertake, whereupon this

this obſervation was made, that firſt no Lay-man could bee found ſo diſhoneſt as a Clergy-man; next, as *Bacon* the Father of this *Bacon*, did receive the ſeales from a Biſhop, ſo a Biſhop againe received them from a *Bacon*; and at this did the Lawyers fret, to have ſuch a flower pulled out of their Garland.

This *Williams*, though he wanted much of his Predeceſſors abilities for the Law, yet did he equall him for learning and pride, and beyond him in the way of bribery, this man anſwering by petitions, a new way, in which his ſervants had one part, himſelfe another, and ſo was calculated to be worth to him and his ſervants 3000. *l. per annum*, a new way never found out before.

And now being come to the height of his preferment, he did eſtrange himſelfe from the company of the old Counteſſe, having much

much younger ware, who had keyes to his chamber, to come to him, yet was there a neceſſity of keeping him in this place for a time, the *Spaniſh* Match being yet in chaſe, and if it ſucceeded, this man was to clap the great Seale (through his ignorance in the Lawes) to ſuch things that none that underſtood the danger by knowing the Lawes, would venture upon, and for this deſign was he at firſt brought in, (no Prince living knowing how to make uſe of men, better then King *James*.)

Now was alſo *Suffolke* turned out of his place of Lord Treaſurer, and a fellow of the ſame hatcht that *Williams* was, brought into his place, *Cranfield* that was the Projector, and never could get higher then that title in *Somerſets* time, now marrying one of *Buckinghams* kindred, attained one of the higheſt Titles in the Kingdome; ſo that it was now generally ſaid, that for pride

pride and baſeneſs theſe two great places were never ſo fitted, both of mean birth, both proud, only the one an excellent Scholler, and of great parts; the other, nothing but a pack of ignorance ſodered together with impudence to raiſe him (beſides his marriage in the luſty kindred.)

This *Cranfield* was a fellow of ſo mean a condition, as none but a poore ſpirited Nobility would have endured his perching on that high Tree of honour, to the diſhonour of the Nobility, the diſgrace of the Gentry, and not long after to his owne diſhonour, who was thruſt out of the Lords Houſe with this cenſure, that *Thou Lionel, Earle of Middleſex, ſhalt never ſit, or have voice more in this Houſe of Peers, and ſhalt pay for a fine to our Soveraigne Lord the King, 20000. l. leaving him ſtill to overtop the Gentry, the Biſhops kept him alſo from degrading, which I do verily believe is*

one

one cause the Gentry will degrade them.

The *Spanish* Match, having been long in Treaty, and it being suspected now, that the *Spaniard* did juggle with the State in this, as they formerly did in a Match with that brave Prince *Henry*, and in truth, in all other things wherein any negotiation had been, only feeding the King with faire hopes, and faire words, yet foule deeds. Whether the King suspected any such matter, or any whimsey came in the braine of this great Favorite and Prince, to imitate the old stories of the Knights Errand, but agreed it was (it should seem) between the Favorite and the Prince onely (no one other so much as dreaming of any such adventure) except *Cottington*, who also accompanied them, that the Prince must goe himselfe into *Spaine*: away they went under the borrowed

The prince goes into *Spaine*.

ed names of *Jack* and *Tom Smith*, to the amazement of all wise men, onely accompanied with *Cottington*, and some one or two more at most, taking their way by *France*; had the Ports laid so, that none should follow them, or give any notice to the *French* Court, till they might get the start, &c. yet their wisdomes made them adventure to stay in the *French* Court, & looke on that Lady whom he after married, and there did this *Mars* imitate one of Prince *Arthurs* Knights, in seeking adventures through forraigne Princes territories; First beheld this *French* beauty, *Mars vidit, visamque cupit, potiturque cupita*: as in our discourse wil afterward appear; from thence away to *Spaine*; but as the Journy was only plotted by young heads, so it was so childishly carried, that they escaped the *French* Kings Curriers very narrowly, but

but escape they did, and arrived safely in *Spaine* their wished Port, before either welcome, or expected, by our Embassadors, or that State.

Yet now must the best face be put on, at all hands, that put their Grandees to new shifts, and our Embassadour the Earle of *Bristoll* to try his wit, for at that time was Sir *Walter Aston* also Embassador at *Spaine*, in all occurrences *Aston* complyed with the Prince and Duke, *Bristol* ran counter; and the Duke and *Bristol* hated each other mortally.

Bristol had the advantage of them there, as having the much better head-peice, and being more conversant and dear with that State. wholly complying with them, and surely had done them very acceptable services (and in this very Treaty was of the pack) *Buckingham* had the advantage of him in *Eng-*

land (although the King did now hate *Buckingham*, yet was so awed that he durst not discover it) Then *Buckingham* had all interest in his Successor by this journy, so that he laid a present and future foundation of his succeeding greatnesse.

For all his power and greatnesse *Bristoll* did not forbeare to put all scorns, affronts, and tricks on him, and *Buckingham* lay so open, as gave the other advantage enough by his lascivious carriage, and miscarriage. Amongst all his tricks, he playes one so cuningly; that it cost him al the hair on his head, and put him to the dyet; for it should seem he made court to *Conde Olivares* Lady, a very handsom Lady; But it was so plotted betwixt the Lady, her Husband and *Bristoll*, that instead of that beauty, he had a notorious Stew sent him, and surely his carriage there was so lascivious, that had ever the Match been really inten-

intended for our Prince, yet such a Companion or Guardian, was enough to have made them beleeve that he had been that way addicted, and so have frustrated the Marriage, that being a grave and sober Nation, *Buckingham* of a light and loose behavior; & had not the Prince himself been of an extraordinary well staid temper, the other had been a very ill Guardian unto him.

But now many Lords flockt over, and many Servants that he might appeare the Prince of *England*, and like himselfe, though he came thither like a private person, many Treaties were, sometimes hope, sometimes dispaire, sometimes great assurance; then all dasht againe, and however, his entertainment was as great as possible that State could afford; yet was his addresses to, and with the Lady such, as ren-

dred him mean, and a private perſon, rather then a Prince of that State, that formerly had made *Spaine* feel the weight of their anger, and power; and was like a Servant, not a Suitor, for he never was admitted, but to ſtand bare head in her preſence, nor to talke with her, but in a full audience with much company.

At laſt, after many heats and cooles, many hopes and diſpaires, the Prince wrote a letter to his Father of a deſperate deſpaire, not only of not injoying his Lady, but of never more returning, with this paſſage, *You muſt now Sir look upon my Siſter and her children, forgetting ever you had ſuch a Son, and never thinking more of me.*

Now the folly of this voyage, plotted onely by green heads, began to appeare, many ſhewing much ſorrow, many ſmiling at their follies (and in truth glad in

their

their hearts) and however the King was a cunning dissembler, and shewed much outward sorrow, as he did for Prince *Henryes* death, yet something was discerned, which made his Court beleeve little greife came neare his heart, for that hatred he bare to *Buckingham* long (as being satiated with him) and his adoring the rising Sunne, not looking after the Sunne setting, made the world beleeve he would thinke it no ill bargaine to lose his Son, so *Buckingham* might bee lost also, for had hee not been weary of *Buckingham*, he would never have adventured him in such a journey, all his Courtiers knew that very well.

And for a further illustration of his wearinesse of *Buckingham*, It appeared in the Parliament before, when the King gave so much way to his ruine, that *Buckingham*

ham challenged him that hee did ſeeke his ruine, and being generally held as a loſt man, the King to make it appeare it was not ſo, and that the King durſt not avow his owne act, brought him off from that Parliament, but *Buckingham* hated the King ever afterwards.

The reaſon the King ſo hated *Buckingham* was, (beſides his being weary of him and his marriage, after which the Kings edge was ever taken off from all Favourites; yet this had ſo much the over-awing power of him, that he durſt not make ſhew to affect any other,) there was one *Innicſſa* a Spaniſh Embaſſador extraordinary here, being an old Souldier, and a gallant fellow, thought that *Buckingham* did not give that reſpect to him, was due to his own perſon, or to the perſon of ſo great a King, whoſe perſon hee re-

repreſented; *Innioſſa* did as much ſcorn and ſlight *Buckingham*, and the Prince, who he found wholly governed by *Buckingham*; for now *Buckingham* had found by many paſſages, the Kings deſire to be rid of him, he made Court to the Prince, and ſo wrought himſelfe into his affection, that *Damon* and *Pythias* were not more deare each to other, which by no meanes could the old King away with, nor in truth did any other like or approve of the Prince his poore ſpirit, fearing it foretold his future inclination, that could ever indure any familiarity with ſuch an one, as had put ſuch foule ſcornes and affronts on him in his time of greatneſſe, with the Father eſpecially, calling to minde the bravery of his brother, who hated the whole Family for their generall baſeneſſe, although none of them had ever offended him in

particular, as this man had done the Prince at two ſeverall times, before an infinite concourſe, by bidding him in plain termes kiſſe his arſe once, a ſecond time offering to ſtrike him, ſaying in moſt undutifull termes, By *God it ſhall not be ſo, nor you ſhall not have it*, lifting up his hand over his head with a Ballon braſſer, that the Prince ſaid, *What my Lord I thinke you intend to ſtrike me* : The firſt of theſe at *Royſton*, the ſecond at *Greenwich* before about 400. people. Theſe affronts were not to bee endured by a private perſon, but by a Prince from a private perſon, ſurely it ſhewed a much leſſe ſpirit then ſhould have been inherent to a Prince, and after this, to be ſo deare with him, as to be governed by him all his life time, more then his Father was in the prime of his affection, I can give it no title

mean

mean enough; it had been worthy the Noble minde of a Prince to have forgotten ſuch injuries, as never to have revenged them when he had been King, but never to have ſuffered him to have come neare his Court, to upbraid him with the ſight of ſo much ſcorne, and that publickly offered him before: But at that time I well remember ſome Critticks in Court did not ſtick to read his future deſtiny.

This *Innioſſa* being a brave daring Gentleman, uſed ſome ſpeeches in the derogation of the Prince, and *Buckingham*, as if they were dangerous to the old King; nay, *Innioſſa* ſent one *Padro Meceſtria*, a *Spaniſh* Jeſuite, and a great Statef-man, to King *James*, to let him know, that he, under confeſſion, had found the King was by *Buckingham*, or by his procurement, to be killed, but whether

ther by poyſon, Piſtoll, Dagger, &c. that he could not tell.

The King, after the hearing of this, was extreame melancholly, and in that paſſion was found by *Buckingham* at his returne to him. The King, as ſoone as ever he eſpied him, ſaid Ah *Stenny*, *Stenny*, for ſo he ever called him in familiarity, wilt thou kill me? at which *Buckingham* ſtarted, and ſaid, who Sir hath ſo abuſed you? at which the King ſat ſilent; out went *Buckingham*, fretting and fuming, asked, who had beene with the King in his abſence? It was told him *Padro Maceſtria*, then who brought him to the King? it was replyed, the Earle of *Kelly*; then flew *Buckingham* on him, to know how hee durſt bring any one in to the King in his abſence, or without his licence? *Kelly* ſtood up cloſe to him (for you muſt know, *Kelly* was

the

the trueſt alarum to give warning of the downefall of a Favourite, of any in the Court) and knew his power could doe him no hurt with the King, in preſent; although it utterly caſt him out of all favour from the King in future.

Then *Buckingham* queſtioned *Padro Maceſtria*, which quarrell, *Innioſſa* undertooke, and told him he would maintaine him a Traytor, and wear his Maſters perſon off him; he was a Chivalier, and better borne then himſelfe, and would make it good on him with his Sword.

The Prince was by *Buckingham* made to write a Letter of complaint to the King of *Spaine*, for abuſing him and *Buckingham*; but the King of *Spaine* returned the Letter in a kind of ſcorne, to *Innioſſa*, not as blaming him, but rather commending him; and *Innioſſa*

offa in ſcorne ſent it to the Prince, as if he ſhould ſay, there is your Letter to wipe ——, which is all it is fit for.

Now have you heard what made the King hate *Buckingham*, you ſhall alſo heare the reaſon of *Buckinghams* extreame hatred to the King, which was beleived the cauſe of his ſo ſpeedy death. *Yelverton*, a very faithfull ſervant to the King, and his Atturney General and no leſſe affectionate to *Somerſet*, being formerly raiſed by him without any ſeeking of his, or ſo much as within his thought, inſomuch as to expreſſe his love to *Somerſet*, he deſired to lay down that great place, rather then aggravate, as his place required, againſt him. This man, as well out of his faithfulneſſe to the King, as affection to *Somerſet*, was made choyce of, to worke the downefall of *Buckingham*, in which he apparently

rently ſhewed himſelf. But *Buckingham*, as I told you before, out of the Kings feare, that durſt not maintain his own deſign, but left his Inſtruments to the mercy of *Buckinghams* tyranny, being once gotten out of this toil, like a chafed Beare, foamed, and bit at all came near him, and amongſt them firſt faſtned on *Yelverton*, put him out of his place, and committed him cloſe Priſoner to the Tower; *Yelverton* having ſhewed himſelfe ſo faithfull to his Maſter, and hee againe ſo unfaithfull to him, to leave him to undergoe the whole burden of *Buckinghams* fury, did flye out in ſome paſſion before *Balfore*, then Lieutenant of the Tower; and *Buckinghams* great creature.

Balfore telling the Duke of ſome paſſages in his paſſion, the Duke one night about 12 a clock came in a diſguiſe, and with the Lieutenant

tenant onely, entred *Yelvertons* lodging, *Yelverton* at first sight started, verily beleeving, he came in that manner to murther him; yet at last recollected himselfe, and said: My Lord, have you the Kings Warrant for this? the Duke said, no; then said *Yelverton*, how dare you enter a close prisoners lodging? it is as much as your life is worth: And assure your selfe Master Lieutenant, the King shall know of this, and you must answer it. My Lord said, I come to you as a friend, though formerly I confesse; upon just cause, your mortall enemy; onely to aske you but two questions, which if you will resolve me, I vow to be a greater friend now then ever an enemy, and can, and will restore you foure-fold: *Yelverton* told him, if they were such as he might, hee would.

The

The first he asked was, What wrong he had ever done him, that he so greedily thirsted after his blood? *Yelverton* replyed, never any, but I was set on by a power that I could not withstand, to doe what I did; he asked him by whom? by the King your Master said he, who hates you more then any man living, which you might well understand, when in his Speech to the Parliament, he said, he would not spare any (no not any that were deareſt to him, or lay in his bosome) by which he pointed them to you.

Wel said *Buckingham*, I see you have dealt like a Friend with me, by many other concurrences as well as by this; give mee your hand, henceforth you are my friend, and I am yours; and I will raise you higher then I have cast you downe, which he had made good, had *Yelverton* lived to have

have injoyed it, for he was instantly released, and the next preferment a Judges place, and had been Lord Keeper, had not death prevented. And if there were no reason, but his change from a mortall enemy to so firme a friend, it were sufficient to confirme the truth of this story. But the Authour had this from *Yelvertons* owne relation, and cannot commend *Yelverton*, because it is verily beleeved this hastened the Kings death.

Now have you heard the true causes of *Buckinghams* hatred to the King, and the Kings to *Buckingham*, the King having the more power to revenge, had the lesse courage; *Buckingham* lesse power, but more courage, sharpened with revenge: And however the World did beleeve the Kings inclination was out of a religious ground, that he might not revenge,

revenge, yet it was no other but a cowardly disposition that durst not adventure; But although the King lost his opportunity on *Buckingham*, yet the black plaister and powder did shew *Buckingham* lost not his on the King; and that it was no fiction but a reality, that *Padro Macestria* had formerly told the King.

And now to returne from this digression, which is not impertinent (besides a great secret,) the Prince returnes from *Spaine*, contrary to expectation) in which the wisdome and gravity of the *Spanyard* failed him, especially if they did beleeve *Padro Macestria* (besides nature could not long support the old King) and then the *Spanyard* might have made no little advantage by injoying such a pledge: But they have confessed their error, yet do palliate it with having the Prince

his faith and his proxie left with *Digby*, and got thence with the very ſame tricke Sir *Francis Michaell* ſaid he got out of the Inquiſition at *Rome*.

Now is all the fault laid on *Digbyes* falſe play and unfaithfulneſſe to his Maſter, and combyning with the *Spaniard*, and by this peece of ſervice expreſſing his hatred to the *Spaniard* for his own ends (the Subjects of *England* having ever naturally hated them) *Buckingham*, the moſt hated man then living, from an accuſed man in the former Parliament, came to be the very darling of this Parliament, and a favorite to the whole Kingdome, which after King *James* his death he as ſoon loſt againe, (ſo inconſtant are the multitude.)

In the Banquetting-houſe before both Houſes of Parliament, is *Buckingham* to give an account of

of his voyage, which hee did at large, and to every full point as a further atteſtation, he ſaith, how ſay you Sir? to which the Prince anſwered *I, yea, or yes*, and through all his diſcourſe laboured to make *Briſtoll* as hateſull to this Parliament, as himſelfe had been to the former, which, had theſe things delivered by him, and atteſted by the Prince, beene truths; he had juſtly deſerved death, the accuſations were foule, and little leſſe then treaſon, without any legiſlative power.

Digby had ſome friends who inſtantly ſent this Declaration into *Spaine*, *Digby* acquaints that King, takes his leave of him for *England*: that King ſets his danger before him, offers if he wil ſtay with him, ſeeing it is for his ſake, he is like to ſuffer, he would make him much greater in Honour and fortune then his Maſter can doe,

Digby gives him thanks, but ſays, he ſerved ſo juſt a Maſter that would not condemne him unheard, and ſhould he, yet he had much rather ſuffer under innocency, then lie under the imputation of a falſe accuſation, of a fugitive, and Traytor, for the higheſt preferment in the world.

Away therefore comes he, puts himſelfe into a deſperate paſſage, leaſt the Paliament ſhould have been diſſolved before his comming, and ſo no place or meanes left him for his defence, but muſt lye under thoſe falſe calumnies, and was here (as the Prince came into *Spaine*) ſooner then either looked for, or welcome.

Into the Parliament comes he, with his hat full of papers, where he puts himſelfe upon this point, that if there were one ſillable true that *Buckingham* had delivered, if this (holding up a paper in his

his hand) be a true copy ; I will yeeld my ſelfe guilty of all treaſons can be laid to my charge, and ſaid, theſe papers, (pointing to his hat,) ſhall make it manifeſt : Beſides ſome of them ſhall make *Buckingham* appeare a very monſter in his laſcivious carriages, too too unchaſte for the eares of this Honourable Aſſembly : *Briſtoll* was inſtantly committed cloſe priſoner to the Tower for a contempt; the next day he was riding through Cheap-ſide in his Coach, by which it appears *Buckinghams* power was in the waine with his old Maſter, his relation and accuſation being ſcandalous and falſe; nor ever durſt he bring *Briſtol* to any further tryall.

Whether this wound was deeper given by *Briſtoll*, to *Buckingham*, or the Prince, I will leave to the reader to judge, and will not my ſelfe determine ; And how

Briſtoll hath ſince ſtood in favour with the Prince, ſince he was King, may give a conjecture, that hee took it as a wound to himſelfe; I am ſure it was an ill omen, and hath ſince given him leſſe credit with his Subjects.

Cranfield accuſed in parliament

And in this Parliament doth *Buckingham* by his under-hand Miniſters and Agents, accuſe *Cranfield* the Lord Teaſurer, in which the Prince alſo ſhewes himſelfe: *Cranfield* was ſo hated a fellow for his inſolency, that a ſmall accuſation would ſerve the turne, as this truly was, had his care of expending the Kings Treaſure beene out of a true zeale, for it ſhould ſeem that the Prince ſending for moneys, *Cranfield* reſtrained his expence, uſeing ſome words, that the journey it ſelfe was fooliſhly undertaken, and now muſt be maintained by prodigality, in which the Revenue of the King-

dome

dome would not satisfie their vast expences; if this had been spoken out of a Noble minde, or out of that feeling hee had of the Kingdomes misery (as being Treasurer he ought to have done) had he fallen, it had been with honour and a generall compassion, but being spoken out of the pride and insolency of his owne heart, whose mind was ever so base, as never to discerne what Honour was, nor ever had hee any other inherent Honour then what in his Apprentiship he raked out of the Kennel; besides it was known to be out of hatred, that hee was not of councell in the undertaking, he then looking at himself as the onely State-man of all the Councell: He fell without pitty, and with much scorn, as I formerly set down; yet left in an higher estate & better condition then so worthlesse a fellow, and base Projector

deserved, yet afterwards he was againe questioned upon his accounts: But all this was nothing, himselfe and his posterity being left Peeres of the Realme.

In this case was the Prince a principall actour, and did duly keep the earliest hours to sit in that Parliament, where, then hee discerned so much juggling even to serve his owne ends on *Cranfield*, that it was not much to be wondred at, being come to be King, he did not affect them: And it was not well that a Prince should show so much spleene, though *Cranfield* deserved any ill could be cast on him, and who knowes whether God doth now punish by Tallion law, to call his own sin to remembrance, and to repent.

In this place I hold it not unfit to shew the Reader how the King hath ever been abused, and would

would be abuſed, by over much credulity, in the treaty of *Spaine* for marriages, as well as in all other Negotiations.

You ſhall now perceive how the King was abuſed in this treaty, which was an errour inexcuſable, in himſelfe and whole Councell. The *Italians* having a Proverb, *He that deceives me once, its his fault; but if twice, its my fault*: this ſecond time therefore could not but be the onely fault of the King and Councell.

In Prince *Henry* his life time, the King had a little man, but a very great and wiſe Counſellour, his Secretary of State, little *Salisbury*, that great Stateſ-man, who did inherit all his Fathers wiſdom, as well as his Offices, and the fame came little ſhort of the father, who was held the greateſt Stateſ-man in the world, of his time. It is true, that one State

may

may abuſe another, but not find out the abuſe is an unpardonable fault in any Stateſ-man.

There was a treaty in the like caſe for Prince *Henry*, *Salisbury* inſtantly diſcovered the jugling before any other did thinke of any, for although it went forward cunningly, yet did *Salisbury* ſo put the Duke of *Lerma* unto it, that either it muſt be ſo, or they muſt confeſſe their jugling.

The Duke of *Lerma* denyed that ever there had been any treaty, or any intention from that State; *Salisbury* ſent for the Embaſſador to a full Councell, told him how he had abuſed the King and State, about a treaty for Mariage, which he had no Commiſſion for; that therefore hee was lyable to the Lawes of our Kingdome; for when any Embaſſadour doth abuſe a State by their Mrs. Commiſſion, then the ſervant was freed;

but

but without Commiſſion, was culpable and lyable to be puniſhed by the Lawes of that State, as being diſavowed to be ſervant to the King his Maſter: The Embaſſadour anſwered gravely, hee did not underſtand the cauſe of his coming, therfore was then unprepared to give any anſwer, but on Monday he would again come, this being Saturday, and give his anſwer. On Monday hee comes, begins with theſe words, *My ſoule is my Gods, my life my Maſters, my reputation my owne, I will not forfeit the firſt and laſt, to preſerve the ſecond*; Then layes downe his Commiſſion, & Letters of inſtruction, under the Duke of *Lerma's* owne hand, he acquitted himſelf honeſtly to this State, yet loſt his owne, being inſtantly ſent for home, where he lived and dyed in diſgrace, here was, *Legatus vir bonus peregre miſſus ſed non ad mentiendum*

tiendum reipublicæ causa : And had wee had as honeſt and good Stateſmen in aftertimes, this State could not have been ſo abuſed in all Treaties.

By this you ſee the advantage and benefit of one wiſe Counſellour in a whole State; and although *Solomon* ſay, By the multitude of Counſellors doth a kingdome flouriſh, yet ſurely hee intended they ſhould be wiſe men that are Counſellours; for we had ſuch a multitude of Counſellors, that a longer table, and a larger Counſell-chamber was provided, yet our State was ſo farre from flouriſhing, that it had been almoſt utterly deſtroyed; this was the laſt Stateſman worthy of that name; and now are the ancient ſtock of Stateſmen decayed, and with them all our honour and glory.

I ſhall now bring my Story to an

an end, as I ſhall this Kings life; although I have made ſome digreſſions, yet all pertinent to the diſcourſe of this Kings reign.

He now goes to his laſt hunting journey, I meane the laſt of the yeare, as well as of his life, which he ever ended in Lent, and was ſeized on by an ordinary Tertian Ague, which at that ſeaſon, according to the Proverb, was Phyſick for a King, but it proved not ſo to him; and poore King, what was but Phyſick to any other, was made mortal to him: yet not the ague, as himſelf confeſſed to a ſervant of his now living, who cryed courage Sir, this is but a ſmall fit, the next will be none at all, at which hee moſt earneſtly looked, and ſaid, Ah, it is not the Ague afflicteth me, but the black plaiſter and powder given me, and laid to my ſtomack; and in truth, the plaiſter ſo tormented him, that he

was

was glad to have it pulled off, and with it the skin alſo; nor was it faire dealing, if he had fair play (which himſelfe ſuſpected) often ſaying to *Montgomery*, whom hee truſted above all men, in his ſickneſſe, for Gods ſake, look I have faire play) to bring in an Emprick, to apply any Medicines, whilſt thoſe Phyſicians appointed to attend him, were at dinner; nor could any but *Buckingham* anſwer it with leſſe then his life at that preſent, as he had the next Parliament had it not been diſſolved upon the very queſtioning him for the Kings death, and all thoſe that proſecuted him, utterly diſgraced and baniſhed the Court.

Buckingham comming into the Kings Chamber, even when hee was at the point of death, and an honeſt ſervant of the Kings crying: *ah my Lord, you have undone*

done us, all his poore servants, although you are so well provided you need not care: At which *Buckingham* kickt at him, who caught his foot, and made his head first come to ground, where *Buckingham* presently rising, run to the dying Kings bed side, and cryed, *Justice Sir, I am abused by your servant, and wrongfully accused*, at which the poor King mournfully fixed his eyes on him, as who would have said (not wrongfully) yet without speech or sence.

It were worth the knowledge, what his confession was, or what other expressions he made of himselfe, or any other; but that was onely knowne to the dead Arch Bishop *Abbot*, and the then living Bishop *Williams*, Lord Keeper, and it was thought *Williams* had blabbed something which incensed the Kings anger, and *Buckinghams* hatred so much against him

him, that the losse of his place could not be expiatory sufficient, but his utter ruine must be determined, and that not upon any knowne crime, but upon circumstances, and examinations, to pick out faults, committed in his whole life time; but his greatest crime for the present, (no question) was *lapsus linguæ*, but *quod defertur non aufertur*, for although he escaped by the calme of that Parliament, yet is he more ruined by this Parliament, and his owne folly; and truly we may observe the just Judgement of God on him, for flying from the Parliament his protector, to give wicked Counsell to the King, his former prosecutor.

And now have I brought this great Kings Reign to an end, in a volant discourse, and shal give you his Character in briefe, and so leave him in peace after his life, who was stiled the King of peace in his life. The

THE CHARACTER OF KING JAMES.

THis Kings Character is much easier to take then his Picture, for he could never be brought to sit for the taking of that, which is the reason of so few good peeces of him; but his Character was obvious to every eye.

Hee was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his cloathes then in his body, yet fat enough, his cloathes ever being made large and easie, the Doublets quilted for steletto

proofe, his Breeches in plates, and full ſtuffed: He was naturally of a timerous diſpoſition, which was the reaſon of his quilted Doublets: His eyes large, ever rowling after any ſtranger came in his preſence, in ſo much, as many for ſhame have left the roome, as being out of countenance; his Beard was very thin; his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him ſpeake full in the mouth, and made him drinke very uncomely, as if eating his drinke, which came out into the cup of each ſide his mouth; his skin was as ſoft as Taffeta Sarſnet, which felt ſo, becauſe hee never waſht his hands, only rub'd his fingers ends ſleightly with the wet end of a Naptkin, his legs were very weake, having as was thought ſome foule play in his youth, or rather before he was borne, that

he

hee was not able to ſtand at ſeven yeares of age, that weakneſſe made him ever leaning on other mens ſhoulders, his walke was ever circular, his fingers ever in that walke fidling about his cod-piece; he was very temperate in his exerciſes, and dyet, and not intemperat in his drinking; however in his old age, and *Buckinghams* joviall Suppers, when he had any turne to doe with him, made him ſometimes over-taken, which hee would the very next day remember, and repent with teares; it is true he drank very often, which was rather out of a cuſtome then any delight, and his drinks were of that kind for ſtrength, as Frontiniack Canary, High Country wine, Tent wine, and *Scottiſh* Ale, that had he not had a very ſtrong braine, might have daily been overtaken, although hee ſeldome drank at any one time above four

ſpoonfulls, many times not above one or two; he was very conſtant in all things (his Favourites excepted) in which he loved change, yet never caſt down any (he once raiſed) from the height of greatneſſe, though from their wonted nearneſſe, and privacy; unleſſe by their own default, by oppoſing his change, as in *Somerſets* caſe: yet had hee not beene in that foule poyſoning buſineſſe, and ſo caſt downe himſelfe; I doe verily beleeve not him neither; for all his other Favourites he left great in Honour, great in Fortune; and did much love *Mountgomery*, and truſted him more at the very laſt gaſpe, then at the firſt minute of his Favouriteſhip: In his Dyet, Apparrell, and Journeys, was very conſtant; in his Apparrell ſo conſtant, as by his good will he would never change his cloathes till very ragges; His faſhion never; Inſo-

much

much as one bringing to him a Hat of a *Spaniſh* Block, he caſt it from him, ſwearing he neither loved them nor their faſhions. Another time, bringing him Roſes on his Shooes, asked, if they would make him a ruffe-footed-Dove? one yard of ſix penny Ribbond ſerved that turne: his Dyet and Journeys were ſo conſtant, that the beſt obſerving Courtier of our time was wont to ſay, was he aſleep ſeven yeares, and then awakened, he would tell where the King every day had been, and every diſh he had had at his Table.

Hee was not very uxorious, though hee had a very brave Queen that never croſſed his deſignes, nor intermedled with State affaires, but ever complyed with him, againſt the nature of any; but of a mild ſpirit in the change of Favourites; for he was ever beſt, when furtheſt from the

Queen, and that was thought to bee the first grounds of his often removes, which afterwards proved habituall. He was unfortunate in the marriage of his Daughter, and so was all Christendome besides; but sure the Daughter was more unfortunate in a Father, then he in a Daughter: He naturally loved not the sight of a Souldier, nor of any Valiant man; and it was an observation that Sir *Robert Mansell* was the onely valiant man he ever loved, and him he loved so intirely, that for all *Buckinghams* greatnesse with the King, and his hatred of Sir *Robert Mansel*, yet could not that alienate the Kings affections from him; insomuch as when by the instigation of *Cottington* then Embassadour in *Spaine*; by *Buckinghams* procurement, the *Spanish* Embassadour came with a great complaint against Sir *Robert Mansell*, then

then at *Argiers*, to ſuppreſſe the Pirats. That he did ſupport him having never a friend there, (though many) that durſt ſpeake in his defence, the King himſelfe defended him in theſe words: *My Lord Embaſſadour, I cannot beleeve this, for I made choyce my ſelfe of him, out of theſe reaſons; I know him to be valiant, honeſt, and Nobly Deſcended as moſt in my Kingdome, and will never beleeve a man thus qualified will do ſo baſe an act.* He naturally loved honeſt men, that were not over active, yet never loved any man heartily untill hee had bound him unto him by giving him ſome ſuite, which hee thought bound the others love to him againe; but that argued a poore diſpoſition in him, to beleeve that any thing but a Noble mind, ſeaſoned with vertue, could make any firme love or union, for mercinary mindes are carryed a-

way with a greater prize, but Noble minds, alienated with nothing but publicke disgraces.

He was very witty, and had as many ready witty jests as any man living, at which he would not smile himselfe, but deliver them in a grave and serious manner: Hee was very liberall, of what he had not in his own gripe, and would rather part with 100*li.* he never had in his keeping, then one twenty shillings peece within his owne custody: Hee spent much, and had much use of his Subjects purses, which bred some clashing with them in Parliament, yet would alwayes come off, and end with a sweet and plausible close; and truly his bounty was not discommendable, for his raising Favourits was the worst: Rewarding old servants, and releiving his Native Country-men, was infinitely more to be commended in him,

him, then condemned. In ſending Embaſſadours, which were no leſſe chargeable then diſhonourable and unprofitable to him and his whole Kingdome; for he was ever abuſed in all Negotiations, yet he had rather ſpend 100000*li.* on Embaſſies, to keep or procure peace with diſhonor, then 10000*l.* on an Army that would have forced peace with honour: He loved good laws, and had many made in his time, & in his laſt Parl. for the good of his Subjects, & ſuppreſſing Promoters, and progging fellows, gave way to that *Nullum tempus, &c.* to be confined to 60 yeares, which was more beneficiall to the Subjects in reſpect of their quiets, then all the Parliaments had given him during his whole Reign. By his frequenting Sermons hee appeared Religious; Yet his Tueſday Sermons (if you will beleeve his owne Country-men, that

that lived in thoſe times when they were erected, and well underſtood the cauſe of erecting them, were dedicated for a ſtrange peece of devotion.

He would make a great deal too bold with God in his paſſion, both in curſing and ſwearing, and one ſtraine higher vergeing on blaſphemie; But would in his better temper ſay, he hoped God would not impute them as ſinnes, and lay them to his charge, ſeeing they proceeded from paſſion: He had need of great aſſurance, rather then hopes, that would make daily ſo bold with God.

Hee was ſo crafty and cunning in petty things, as the circumventing any great man, the change of a Favourite, inſomuch as a very wiſe man was wont to ſay, he beleeved him the wiſeſt foole in Chriſtendome, meaning him wiſe in ſmall things, but a

fool

foole in weighty affaires.

He ever desired to prefer mean men in great places, that when he turned them out againe, they should have no friend to bandy with them: And besides, they were so hated by being raised from a mean estate, to over-top all men, that every one held it a pretty recreation to have them often turned out: There was in this Kings time, at one instant living, two Treasurers, three Secretaries, two Lord Keepers, two Admiralls, three Lord Cheife Justices, yet but one in play, therefore this King had a pretty faculty in putting out and in: By this you may perceive in what his wisdome consisted, but in great and weighty affaires even at his wits end.

He had a trick to cousen himself with bargains under hand, by taking 1000*li.* or 10000*li.* as a bribe, when

when his Counſell was treating with his Cuſtomers to raiſe them to ſo much more yearly, this went into his Privy purſe, wherein he thought he had over-reached the Lords, but couſened himſelfe; but would as eaſily break the bargaine upon the next offer, ſaying, hee was miſtaken and deceived, and therefore no reaſon he ſhould keepe the bargain; this was often the caſe with the Farmers of the Cuſtomes; He was infinitely inclined to prayer, but more out of fear then conſcience, and this was the greateſt blemiſh this King had through all his Reign, otherwiſe might have been ranked with the very beſt of our Kings, yet ſometimes would he ſhew pretty flaſhes which might eaſily be diſcerned to be forced, not naturall; And being forced, could have wiſhed, rather, it would have recoiled backe to himſelfe, then carryed

carryed to that King it had concerned, least he might have been put to the tryall, to maintain his seeming valour.

In a word, take him altogether and not in peeces, such a King I wish this Kingdome have never any worse, on the condition, not any better; for he lived in peace, dyed in peace, and left all his Kingdomes in a peaceable condition, with his own Motto:

Beati Pacifici.

Now

NOW having brought this peaceable King to rest in all peace, the 27th. of *March* his Son, by the ſound of the Trumpet, was Proclaimed King, by the name of CHARLES the FIRST.

His Fathers Reign began with a great plague, and we have ſeen what his Reign was; His Sonnes with a greater plague, and the greateſt that ever was in theſe parts, we ſhall ſee what his Reign will bee, and the effects of this plagues end, hang as a fatall commet over this Kingdome, in ſome parts, and over *London* in more particular, ever ſince: and we earneſtly pray wee may not fall into the hands of men, but under the reproofes of our merciſull God.

This

This King was not Crowned with that ſolemnity, all other Kings have formerly been, by riding through the City in all ſtate, although the ſame Triumphes were provided for him, as ſumptuous as for any other; this, ſome have taken as an ill omen: Its further reported, which I will not beleeve, that he tooke not the uſuall Oath all Kings are bound unto, at their Coronation, and its to be read in *Covells* booke, if ſo, ſure its a worſe omen:

One more obſervation is, of this King, which I remember not in any other Kingdom, I am confident never in this; That with this King did alſo riſe his Fathers Favourite, and in much more glory and luſter then in his Fathers time, as if he were an inheretor of his Sonnes favours, as the Son of the Fathers Crowne, and this as it happened was the worſt omen

of

of all, for whereas in the Fathers time, there was some kind of moderation, by reason he was weary of the insolency of his Favourite; in the sons time he reigned like an impetuous storme, treading down al before him that stood in his way, and would not yeeld to him or comply with him: This shewed no Heroical or Kingly spirit, for the King ever to endure him, that had put such scornes, and insolent affronts on him in his fathers time.

This King (as his Father did set in peace) did rise like a *Mars*, as if hee would say, *Arma virumq; Cano*, and to that end, to make himselfe more formidable to *Spain* and *France*, he called a Parliament, wherein never Subjects expesse d more hearty affections to a Prince; and in truth, were more loving then wise, for as if for an income to welcome him,

they

they gave two intire Subsidies, and in it brake the very foundation and priviledges of Parliament, which never was wont to give Subsidies but as a thankfull gratuity for enacting good Lawes, therefore it is but Gods justice to repay them with Tallion lawes, to have their Priviledges broken, seeing they first chalked out the way; the King in requitall of this great love of theirs, did instantly dissolve the Parliament, which hath bred such ill blood in the veines of the Subjects to their Sovereign, and the Sovereign to the Subject, that its like to produce an epidemicall infection.

But the occasion taken to dissolve it was worst of all, for *Buckingham* by his insolent behaviour had not onely lost that love, his hatred to *Spaine* had procured him, but was now growne into such an hatred that they fell on

him for the death of his old Master, which had been of long time whispered; the Examinations bred such confessions, that it looked with an ugly deformed poysonous countenance, and nothing but the dissolution of that Parliament could have saved his dissolution, and that with a brand of shame and infamy, as well as ingratitude.

I remember I heard an old Parliament man, and a noble Gentleman of that Cõmittee for Examinations say, at first he derided the very thought of it; but after the first dayes Examination it proved so foule, as that he both hated and scorned the name of *Buckingham*; and though man would not punish it, God would, which proved an unhappy prediction.

This dissolving the Parliament was ill relished by the people, and the seeming cause worse, and to make

make the case worse, and that it must needs be the evident cause; *Buckinghams* Counselswere so stupid and himself so insolent, that he did thinke it a glory to disgrace all that followed that busines, that Parliament, or seemed inquisitive; and caused many old Servants of the Kings, he formerly favoured very much, to be banished from Court, never to return more, nor did they ever, as *Clare*, *Crofts*, Sir *Fra. Stewart*, nay D. *Cray*, his Phisitian, who from his verychildhood, had the general repute of a very honest man, for expressing himselfe like an honest man in the Kings presence, was instantly dismissed, never could recover his place or favour more.

Now also is *Williams* Lord Keeper turned out of his place, and *Coventry* the Kings Atturney (who had *Buckingham* lived had as soon) followed in his stead.

Then goes *Buckingham* into *France* on a ſtately Embaſſie for that Lady the King had ſeen, and ſet an affection on in his paſſage to *Spaine*, which was obtained with ſmall intreaty.

Now doth *Buckingham* ſoare ſo high in his Maſters favours and pride of his own heart, as he alters all great Officers, makes war againſt *France* and *Spaine*, the quarrel only his, voiced to be on ſtrange grounds, the ſucceſſe accordingly, Navies, Armies, and nothing but war appears, as if we intended in time to conquer all that oppoſed; Lord *Wimbledon* the General, from whom as little was expected, as he performed, carrying a powerful Army to *Cales*, after an infinite expence, and drinking much *Spaniſh* Wines, and beating out the heads of what they could not drinke, returned as like a valiant Commander, as he ever was reputed.

Then

Then is *Denbigh* ſent into *France* to aide *Rochell*, who managed it better then his great Kinſman, who would afterwards needs goe to doe great exploits, for hee brought his ſhip and men ſafe againe, the other left his men in powdering tubs, as if he meant to have them kept ſweet againſt his comming thither: In ſhort, this unhappy voyage loſt all the honor our glorious anceſtors have ever gotten over that Nation, there being ſo many brave gentlemen wilfully loſt, as if that voyage had been on purpoſe plotted to diſable our Nation, by taking away ſo many gallant brave young ſpirits.

FINIS.